MEMORIAL OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

A

MEMORIAL

OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

LATE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

1573
WASHINGTON

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DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

As the President of the United States was sitting with his wife in a private box at Ford's Theatre in Washington, on the evening of April 14, 1865, — happy in view of the speedy termination of a protracted civil war, and the fulfilment of his high purpose, — he received a death-wound from a pistol-shot fired by an assassin. He never spoke afterwards, but lingered until twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, on the morning of April 15, when he died. The news of his death was received in this city soon after eight o'clock, through a despatch from the Secretary of War, and produced feelings of sadness and alarm never before equalled. By order of His Honor, the Mayor, the bells were immediately tolled, and the flags on all public buildings were displayed at half mast. The places of business and amusement were all closed, and the insignia of mourning appeared on nearly every building, public and private, in the city. An informal meeting was organized early in the day at the Merchants' Exchange, and a Committee was appointed to prepare and send a despatch to Washington, expressing sympathy for the family of the deceased, and giving an assurance of confidence and support to his constitutional successor — ANDREW JOHNSON. The message was forwarded by Mayor Lincoln, with the following indorsement: —

Mayor's Office, City Hall,
Boston, *April* 15, 1865.

To His Excellency, Andrew Johnson, Washington, D. C.: —

I have the honor to forward the accompanying resolution, passed by the citizens of Boston upon hearing of the sad event which has cast the Nation in gloom; and I desire to unite most sincerely in their expression of grief, and in the patriotic resolve to support the constituted authorities in their efforts to uphold the integrity of the Republic.

F. W. LINCOLN, Jr., *Mayor.*

RESOLUTION OF THE CITIZENS.

The citizens of Boston, overwhelmed with grief at the awful calamity which has befallen our common country, in the tragic death of its great and good President, and in the deadly assault upon the wise and sagacious Secretary of State and members of his family, spontaneously assembled at the Merchants' Exchange, and resolved, that an expression of their strong and fervent sympathy be immediately sent to the surviving members of the afflicted families, in view of the irreparable loss which they and their countrymen have sustained by this sad event; and, also, that a message be sent to Andrew Johnson, the constitutional successor of Abraham Lincoln, as President of these United States, of their confidence in his integrity, his patriotism, and his manhood; and their determination

to give him their undivided and unfaltering support, imploring the blessing of God to guide him with the wisdom and virtue which characterized his lamented predecessor.

ALEXANDER H. RICE,
GEORGE B. UPTON,
JAMES L. LITTLE,
AVERY PLUMER,
ALPHEUS HARDY,
EDWARD S. TOBEY,
PHINEAS STOWE,
E. R. MUDGE,
Committee.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

City of Boston, *April* 17, 1865.

A special meeting of the City Council of Boston was convened at twelve o'clock this day, by order of His Honor, Frederic W. Lincoln, Jr., Mayor, for the purpose of expressing their respect to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the late President of the United States.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

There were present at this meeting the Mayor and all the Aldermen.

The Board having been called to order by the Mayor, he spoke as follows: —

To the Honorable the City Council: —

Gentlemen: Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, expired at Washington on the morning of April 15, between the hours of seven and eight o'clock. The death of one so distinguished, whose eminent services for the last four years have been so valuable to his country, and whose individual opinions and actions were considered so vital to its future welfare, has filled the Nation's heart

with gloom. In the midst of the jubilant and excited feelings of a grateful people, bound to him with dearer ties than ever before in his career, his connection with them has been suddenly severed by the violent hands of an assassin. The fresh joy of the recent glorious victories of our armies, securing, we trusted, peace and prosperity to a reunited country, has unexpectedly been turned to mourning.

The shouts of an exultant people are hushed, and the stern discipline of sorrow is once more to test their character and to prove their manhood. Called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation at a time of unexampled trial, when the Union of our fathers was threatened with disruption by degenerate sons, the loyal spirit of the country responded time and time again to his patriotic appeals. His talents and his practical virtues seemed to develop and strengthen with the new exigencies which called for their exercise; and at the moment when success was crowning our efforts, the GREAT LEADER was summoned away, and his office and his great trusts fall upon another.

President Lincoln's career will ever be considered as one of the best illustrations of the character and nature of Republican institutions. He was emphatically a man of the people. Born in an humble condition, he was never tempted to rise by a sordid ambition for place; but yet he was ever ready to meet public responsibilities, when the country demanded his services. His merits as a statesman and patriot have been tested in the most momentous period in the history of the Republic. His integrity and worth as a man were seldom called in question while he lived,

and now that he has gone, his memory will be held in blessed remembrance by his countrymen, and especially by that race whose shackles of slavery were broken during his administration, and who will cherish his name as that of their great Liberator.

He has conducted us safely through the checkered career of the greatest civil war known in the history of the world; and at the time of his decease his clear and honest intellect was engaged upon those great and difficult problems of statesmanship which, after such a conflict, appertain to a condition of peace. At times when disaster befell our arms, or confusion attended our councils, and the timid were disposed to give up in despair, his faith never wavered in the final success of the cause, — new difficulties aroused new energies, — and, relying upon the patriotism of the people, he moved on with a resolute will, in the work which Providence had placed in his hands for the salvation of the nation.

The great responsibilities of his position, he bore with complacency and good humor. His physical frame, which was developed in early manhood, fitted him for the unparalleled labors of his public trust; and his tragic death was caused by that fell spirit of treason and disloyalty, which, had it not been for his efforts, might likewise have been the death of the nation.

The Republic has lost its chief officer; — every patriot feels that he has lost a personal friend. We finite beings cannot fathom the wisdom of the great calamity. He that ruleth over the nations of the earth must be our abiding trust. To the family of the late President, our heartfelt sympathies and condolence should be tendered.

In common with the whole nation, this community joins in the general sorrow; and in order that you may officially take that public notice of the event which the occasion demands, I have called the members of the City Council together in special session.

Your wisdom will suggest the most appropriate manner for the city of Boston to honor the memory of the distinguished dead.

F. W. LINCOLN, Jr., *Mayor.*

At the conclusion of the Mayor's Address, Alderman George W. Messinger, Chairman of the Board, spoke as follows: —

It is with no ordinary emotions, Mr. Mayor, that I rise to offer the resolutions pertinent to this occasion. The sudden shock which our entire community experienced at the reception of the astounding reports from Washington; the mingled feelings of grief, of horror, and of indignation, have scarcely yet subsided; the repose and reflections incident to the Sabbath may have served to calm and tranquillize, but only to bring forth a more realizing sense of the irreparable loss which the nation has sustained by the death of its Chief Magistrate.

At the very time when the Rebellion appears subdued, when the days of battle are numbered and the horrors of war are to give way to the blessings of peace, when the restoration or reconstruction of our glorious Union is so evident, that great and good man, at the head of our nation, whose sound judgment and valuable counsels were so much relied on, is stricken down by the hand of the

assassin. Without further comment, I now submit the preamble and resolutions prepared by a joint committee of the City Council: —

RESOLVES.

Whereas, in the Providence of God, the shadow of a great grief is now resting on the people of the United States, in the sudden death, by the hand of violence, of their beloved and honored Chief Magistrate, Abraham Lincoln, now officially announced to the City Council by His Honor the Mayor, therefore,

Resolved, 1. That in this early hour of the Nation's bereavement and sorrow, the greatness of our loss cannot be adequately expressed by words, but is evinced by the unspoken and unutterable language of the heart, and the tears of millions of our loyal countrymen, telling how truly and affectionately he who was from the people, and loved the people, was loved by them.

2. That we devoutly thank God for the noble work our loved and honored President was permitted to do for the nation, guiding it with consummate sagacity and skill through the most difficult epoch of its existence; that we recognize especially his great wisdom and foresight in issuing his proclamation of Emancipation, which will entitle him to the gratitude of the lovers of liberty throughout the world in all future ages, and give him a place in his country's fame by the side of the immortal Washington.

3. That we accord to the family of our late Chief

Magistrate our heartfelt and tender sympathy in their irreparable loss, assuring them that we cherish as one of our country's priceless legacies the memory of him whom the nation mourns.

4. That the atrocious attempt to take the life of our Secretary of State, the Hon. William H. Seward, and the assaults on the members of his household, have excited the liveliest interest for his preservation; and we trust that his life may long be spared, and his valuable counsels continue to benefit his country.

5. That we assure President Johnson of our cordial support in the great task devolved upon him by this horrible crime, entreating him to believe that the nation, instructed by this last bitter experience, will sustain the Government more unitedly than ever in vigorous and effective measures for suppressing a wicked and unnatural Rebellion, in meting out justice to all its abettors, and securing the amplest guarantees for peace in all coming time; trusting that he will not pause until every seed of its possible life is destroyed, and our whole country rests on the sure basis of full and impartial liberty.

6. That as a proper mark of respect, Faneuil Hall and the City Hall be draped in mourning for the period of thirty days, and that on the day of the funeral ceremonies in Washington, His Honor the Mayor order all public offices, schools and places of amusement, to be closed, and request an entire suspension of business on the part of our citizens.

7. That a delegation from the city government, consisting of His Honor Mayor Lincoln, two Aldermen, the

President and three members of the Common Council, attend the obsequies of the late President of the United States.

8. That a eulogy on the character and services of Abraham Lincoln be pronounced before the city government at an early day, and that a joint committee be appointed to make the necessary arrangements.

9. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, the heads of the different departments at Washington, and the family of the deceased.

The passage of the foregoing resolutions having been advocated by Alderman Nathaniel C. Nash, with some appropriate remarks, they were unanimously adopted by the Board, each member rising in his place.

The Chair having appointed Aldermen John S. Tyler and Charles F. Dana as a Committee in behalf of this Board to attend the Funeral Obsequies in Washington, and Aldermen George W. Messinger, John S. Tyler, and Thomas Gaffield upon the Committee of Arrangement for an Eulogy on the deceased, as contemplated in the eighth resolve, said resolutions were sent down to the Common Council for concurrence, and the Board of Aldermen then adjourned.

Attest:

S. F. McCLEARY, *City Clerk.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMON COUNCIL.

The members of the Common Council were called to order by their President, William B. Fowle, Esq., who addressed them as follows: —

Gentlemen of the Common Council: —

Were I to consult my own feelings upon this occasion, I should indulge in speechless sorrow; but, as representatives of our fellow citizens, it seems proper that we should place upon record our estimation of the great and good man whose loss the nation mourns.

Words are but feeble instruments to express deep grief; far better the sympathizing grasp of the hand and the eye glistening with the involuntary tear.

We respected Abraham Lincoln as the chief magistrate of our country, and as such alone we should have felt sorrow at his death, but we are now in mourning for more than the loss of the nation's head.

Our country needed him. The marked ability with which he had steadied the helm through the long night of civil war, until the dayspring of peace seemed fairly opening to our vision, had taught us to look to him as the guiding star under whose benignant auspices all troubles were to cease. But deeper seated than even this is our grief to day.

He was cut off by a dastardly act in the midst of such usefulness as it has rarely been the lot of man to experience. We lament the cruel manner of his death, and our grief deepens at the thought that for us and in our service he died. But even this does not sufficiently account for the gloom which rests upon us.

Beyond the magistrate whose ability we respected, beyond the victim of the assassin who died for us, and whose untimely fate we deplore, beyond the loss of his services at a time when they were so sorely needed, we

each and all of us have lost a dear friend; a great, good, honest, noble-hearted friend, whom we all loved. Our *love* for him is the great cause of our heartfelt grief.

Upon our nation's roll of honor, side by side with that of the immortal Washington, let us place the name of Abraham Lincoln, and let us pray to the Supreme Ruler, that the exigencies of our country may nevermore need that a third should be added to those two

——— "immortal names,
That were not born to die!"

The message of the Mayor having been read, the resolutions adopted by the Board of Aldermen were then submitted to the Common Council. Their passage by this branch of the City Council was advocated by Messrs. Clement Willis of Ward 8, Joseph Story of Ward 5, Benjamin Dean of Ward 12, and Solomon B. Stebbins of Ward 10, who spoke most earnestly and appropriately on the subject. The resolutions were then passed unanimously in concurrence, each member present rising in his place.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Solomon B. Stebbins of Ward 10, Benjamin Dean of Ward 12, and Moses W. Richardson of Ward 11, delegates on behalf of the Common Council to attend the funeral obsequies at Washington. And the President of the Common Council, together with Messrs. Joseph Story of Ward 5, John C. Haynes of Ward 9, Sumner Crosby of Ward 12, William D. Park of Ward 7, and Solomon B. Stebbins of Ward 10, were joined to the Committee of Arrangements for the proposed eulogy on the illustrious deceased.

The Common Council then adjourned.

Attest: W. P. GREGG, *Clerk.*

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

In accordance with a request from His Honor the Mayor, the citizens of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall on the seventeenth of April, 1865, at three o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of uniting in a public expression of their sense of the bereavement which the nation had sustained in the death of Abraham Lincoln. The hall was darkened and heavily draped with emblems of mourning. The meeting was called to order by the Mayor, and prayer was offered by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, D. D.

His Honor Mayor Lincoln then addressed the assembly as follows: —

Fellow Citizens: On the morning of the 15th of January a revered and distinguished citizen, then engaged in the pursuits of private life, died suddenly at his residence in Boston. As the news of the sad occurrence extended, it produced a profound impression over the whole country; and the President of the United States immediately took notice of the event as a national bereavement. On the morning of the 15th of April, just three months after the decease of the retired statesman, — on a day solemnly set apart by a portion of the Christian church to commemorate the death of our blessed Lord, — the Presi-

dent himself, invested with all the cares and prerogatives of official station, was summoned to depart this life, and to join the vast assembly of good and great of other days. On that occasion in January, this venerable hall was arrayed in its habiliments of woe; and to-day, again putting on its emblems of mourning, we are assembled to condole with each other in this new grief, and to take counsel together on this new sorrow which has fallen upon our country.

The last time the citizens of Boston assembled within these halls, it was to give an expression of the exulting joys of a happy people over the recent victories; to-day we meet, bowed down by a common affliction, seeking comfort and consolation from each other in that depression of spirits which every heart feels. Yesterday we went up to our several houses of worship, and before the altars of Almighty God, gathered those lessons of resignation for ourselves, and that confidence in the wisdom of the Great Disposer of events, which it is the mission of our holy religion to inspire. To-day we meet in the accustomed place for the great gatherings of the people, to pay our feeble tribute to the memory of the distinguished dead, and to renew our vows of unfaltering fidelity to our country in this hour of its extreme peril.

The death of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, who has been set apart as its Ruler by the free suffrages of its citizens, always awakens the most tender sympathies and the profoundest regrets; how much more so in the recent crisis of our national affairs, when the events of the last four years are so fresh in our remembrance.

The hand that guided the ship of state through the perils of the past we fondly trusted would remain at the helm until all danger was over and gentle breezes wafted its course over calmer seas.

We knew and braced ourselves to the fact, at the commencement of the unholy Rebellion, that we should be called upon to make many sacrifices to accomplish its overthrow; but little did we think that one so costly and dear was to be required as the head of the nation. The fatal shot, which, fired by an assassin's hand, laid low the first in the land, was aimed at the happiness of the whole people; and we shall be recreant to duty, and false to our high responsibilities if we fail to extirpate the disloyal spirit which prompted it. We may divide and form parties on minor matters, but let the appalling event we deplore unite all the people in one solid phalanx in behalf of those principles of humanity and equal rights, which our fathers enunciated at the birth of the nation, and which will render the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN a blessed memory through many generations.

It is not my province, fellow-citizens, to furnish the fitting words which will give an expression of the sentiments of this assembly. There are those present who will speak of the career and services of the lamented dead, and of the exigencies in which the country is now placed. My duty is performed, when, in consonance with the action of the City Council, you are invited to participate in the proceedings of this meeting, and are thus able to testify in an official form to the world, the feelings of the citizens of Boston on the most solemn and memorable event in the history of the country.

Hon. Peleg W. Chandler was then introduced. He said: —

It is about ten years since the citizens of Boston assembled at this place to express their opinion upon a most outrageous assault on a senator of this Commonwealth, who was nearly murdered at his seat in the Capitol of the United States. I had the honor to address that meeting, and I expressed a strong conviction that this brutal conduct of a representative from South Carolina would be promptly disavowed by the people of that State, — an opinion which prevailed to a considerable extent at that time in this community. So far, however, from the prediction proving true, a directly opposite and most lamentable course was taken. And so it came to pass that a representative in the Congress of the United States from one of the oldest States in the Union, who had made a murderous attack upon the senator of Massachusetts, was everywhere received on his journey home by a perfect ovation. Public addresses of congratulation, private letters of thanks, the votes of assembled citizens poured in upon him as the hero of the hour; he was re-elected by an unanimous vote, and was allowed to occupy, until his death, the seat he had disgraced. And now, Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens, we are assembled in Faneuil Hall to consider the assassination of the President of the United States, and the attempted murder of the Secretary of State, under circumstances of brutality, cowardice, and cruelty, that have no parallel.

It has been hinted that this was the act of a drunken fool or a madman. Perhaps it was. But drunken fools

and crazy fanatics are not seldom the chosen instruments of those who act in darkness, and resort to murder by assassination.

I do not charge this specific act upon the masses at the South; I do not suppose that the wicked wretch had a written order in his pocket from Confederate leaders. But I do suppose, I do believe, that this transaction is the direct result of the method of these leaders in their endeavor to destroy the Union; that it is the legitimate fruit of the temper in which they have carried on this war from the first; that it is an external manifestation of a people half civilized, and of leaders who do not scruple to violate every principle of honor in order to accomplish their nefarious designs. The assassination of the President has been publicly threatened, time and again. Prisoners of war, taken in fair and open fight, have been stripped of their clothing and immured in prisons filthy beyond description. Scores of brave men have perished by slow starvation, while hundreds and thousands have returned to their homes only to die or to drag out a wretched existence of premature old age. A man was hung in New York the other day, who was said to belong to a wealthy family in Virginia, himself well educated after their style, and an officer in the Confederate army. This man had been convicted of an attempt to throw a railway train from the track, which was crowded with women and children.

A former officer in the Confederate army is now under sentence of death, who, with companions in guilt, undertook to fire most of the hotels in a large city, and thus destroy hundreds and perhaps thousands of lives of inno-

cent people, and this far away from the active operations of soldiers in the field.

When have these crimes been disavowed? What high and magnanimous Southern officer has condemned them, and threatened to resign if they were approved by his superiors? What legislature has stamped them with reprobation? When has the Rebel Congress disapproved of them? What Southern newspaper has denounced them?

There is nothing in all this to stir up feelings of revenge with us. Excited passions can do no good. But we have a duty to perform, and the consideration of these transactions will render that duty less difficult. The present condition of things must cease. We have a lesson to teach here, and the pupils must learn that lesson. We must banish from the land every relic of barbarism. We must colonize the country with respectable men. We must organize school-districts and build schoolhouses, and send schoolmasters, and spelling books, and the New England Primer, and ministers of the Gospel, and Bibles. We must, if necessary, withdraw the missionaries from Turkey and Asia Minor, India, and the Islands of the Ægean Sea, and employ them nearer home. We will thus possess and elevate this people, to the end that life may be safe, liberty secured, property protected, and the Christian religion maintained in its purity.

Mr. Chandler then offered the following

RESOLUTIONS.

The citizens of Boston, in Faneuil Hall assembled, desire

to bow in humble and trusting submission to the Divine Providence by whose permission our beloved and honored Chief Magistrate has been violently removed from the scene of his earthly labors; and they earnestly pray for the ability to restrain all feelings of revenge, — "for it is written, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.*"

Resolved, That the character of Abraham Lincoln is one of the richest gifts ever bestowed upon a free people. An enlightened statesman whose highest ambition was the happiness of his country, — a firm magistrate who knew how to temper justice with mercy, — a wise ruler who listened to the counsels of others, but always acted upon his own convictions of duty, — he stands to-day, in the affection of all loyal citizens, not second to Washington himself.

Resolved, That we tender to the family of the deceased our earnest sympathy in the death of a husband and father whose kindness of heart, purity of intention, gentleness, firmness, and sincerity are familiar as household words to this whole people.

Resolved, That while we do not attribute to the mass of Rebel citizens any complicity with a crime so enormous as the one we now deplore, we are firmly convinced that it is the direct result of the principles inculcated by their leaders and a state of society that is utterly opposed to the doctrines of enlightened morality and inconsistent with the pure precepts of the Christian religion. The holding of human beings in brutal ignorance and hopeless slavery, the unprovoked resort to an armed resistance to the Constitution and laws of the country, the deliberate starving

of prisoners taken in war, the concerted attempt to burn the hotels of a large city, filled with women and children, the brutal assault upon a senator at his seat in the Capitol, and finally the assassination of the Chief Magistrate of the country, and the attempted murder of the principal executive officer, with every circumstance of cowardice and atrocity, are so many kindred evidences of a state of ignorance, brutality, and wickedness which have no parallel in the history of a civilized people.

Resolved, That we now and here avow our determination, on this solemn occasion, to preserve the Union of our fathers, to maintain the Constitution of these United States, to enforce the laws of the country, to remove every vestige of barbarism from our borders, — to the end that universal freedom, enlightened civilization, pure morality, and the sublime principles of the Christian religion may everywhere prevail; and to this we do here, in this temple of liberty where our fathers for generations have assembled, pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, invoking the aid and guidance of Him in whose hands are the destinies of nations.

Hon. Charles G. Loring spoke as follows: —

Fellow-Citizens: You can suspect no one of assuming, uninvited, the responsibility of addressing you upon this sad and solemn occasion, nor could you hold otherwise than in light esteem any one who would shrink from obedience to the call to take part in these solemnities.

It is indeed good for us to be here. We should derive

comfort and strength, in this hour of deep affliction, by thus meeting together, though no words were uttered, and we only stood side by side with bowed heads and full hearts in consciousness of the sympathy which unites us to-day as one stricken family of mourners. But a few simple words may be ventured expressive of our grief, —a few words of counsel and resolve in view of the appalling event which has summoned us here.

A brief time only has elapsed since we assembled in this place to lay our tribute of love and grateful remembrance upon the bier of a scholar, an orator, and a statesman, upon whom we had been accustomed to lean for guidance and support in the dark hours of our country's peril. Oh! that he were now here with his matchless eloquence to thrill our hearts and move our souls as none but he could do.

Not many days afterwards your willing footsteps sought this consecrated hall in jubilee and congratulation upon our national triumphs, — and these walls rocked with the thunders of your applause at every mention of the name of the then loved and revered head of the nation.

To-day that head is laid low in the dust, — and a nation's exultation and joy are turned into the profoundest sorrow and apprehension. The father of his country is stricken down, — the Minister of State, who has conducted the foreign diplomacy of the nation with such unrivalled skill and lofty patriotism, has been laid low, perhaps never to rise again, — both have fallen by the hands of rebel assassins, — one in the place of the public assembly, and the other in the privacy of his sick-chamber, and perhaps then

on his dying bed. The nation stands aghast at the unexampled atrocity of the crime; the civilized world will tremble and grow pale as it listens to the story. A blow has been stricken upon law, humanity, civilization, and every sacred sentiment of the human heart, which causes the whole moral world to tremble to its foundations.

It is in the midst of this tumultuous emotion, my friends, when every one is asking of each other, what shall we say, or what shall we do, — what are to be the consequences of these stupendous atrocities, — what do they teach, and what responsibilities do they involve, — that we are assembled in this venerated hall, so redolent of profound humanity, obedience to the law, and self-sacrificing patriotism, to give vent to our grief and take counsel together upon our duties.

When the first shock given by the ghastly news was over, and the mind recovered from the paralysis it had caused, the immediate emotion in all hearts was that of poignant grief as for the death of one personally beloved. Connected as we felt ourselves to be with Abraham Lincoln as the head of our national family, — accustomed as we were to the displays of his cheerful, genial, generous, humane, and loving nature amid the bewildering perplexities and embarrassments, the boundless responsibilities and vexing cares of his official life; to his magnanimity, forbearance, and self-forgetfulness amid the cruel slanders and persecutions heaped upon him both at home and abroad, we felt, each of us could not but feel, that his death, besides being a calamity to the nation and the world, was to us in the nature of a domestic loss, touching the

finest and tenderest chords of our hearts. It is surely hazarding nothing to assert that no head of a great nation was ever so tenderly and heartily loved as was Abraham Lincoln by the great bulk of the American people. That love is to-day more vehement and active than ever before, and will long continue a vital agent of terrible energy in completing the great work for devotion to which he was sacrificed. Let no man be ashamed that he shed tears upon news of the death of Abraham Lincoln. It were far better to be accounted among those who did so than among those who had none to shed on Saturday morning.

It is, however, the consciousness of the seemingly irreparable loss to our country, in this removal of her trusted ruler and guide, that sinks deeper in our hearts, awakens our most painful solicitude, and casts the darkest shadow upon our future.

If there be anything marvellous in personal history, — if there be anything in the history of nations betokening Divine intervention in the appointment of their rulers, — if it be manifest that an especial Providence raised up George Washington to be the founder of the Union and the father of his country, — I hold it to be no less marvellous and a no less signal proof of such interposition, that Abraham Lincoln was appointed to be the ruler and guide of this nation through the perils of this gigantic Rebellion; to be the father of his country in her new birth to a Union founded on still broader principles of law, freedom, and humanity, — that she may henceforth take her place among the chief of nations with no blot upon

her pure escutcheon, and no stain upon her name as indeed "the land of the brave and the home of the free."

The reckless wish has sometimes been uttered, and in the darker hours of the struggle perhaps not unfrequently, that we had some leader of transcendent genius or influence at the head of the nation to guide its counsels and lead its armies, — a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon.

But nothing could have been more fatal, if not to our present success, at least to our permanent safety, than the granting of any such wish. Our Government, my friends, from its very nature, must depend upon the people, *and upon them alone.* If they are not willing nor able to sustain it, and assert its just authority, it has failed, it has become worthless; and the sooner it passes into the hands of a wise or generous despot the better. The moment the salvation of a republic rests upon the genius, power, influence, or life of any individual or number of individuals in authority, that moment its days are numbered, its substance has vanished. It is the crowning glory of the American people at this hour, that, in this desperate struggle for national life, amid reverses that at times seemed overwhelming, and financial perils that might well daunt the stoutest statesman, and without a leader of marked genius in council or in the field, unless recent events have revealed them, the people have carried on this great war with unflinching courage and persistent energy, and with voluntary sacrifices of blood and treasure, — such as no mere governmental authority could have exacted, nor any military chieftain, however feared or admired, could have induced.

It is this, fellow-citizens, that makes our progress safe hitherto, and our future certain. The people have willed that the national life shall be sustained, that law and freedom shall bless the land, and the flag of the Union shall wave, as before, over it from the Canadas to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean. They know and feel that they are competent to the task; and the result depends not, and cannot be made to depend, upon the life or lives, or the power or influence, of any man or set of men, however individually great.

And it is exactly here that we find the great fundamental element in the character of our beloved President, that so peculiarly qualified him for the Chief Magistracy of the Union in this hour of its extremity. He was in the broadest, truest, deepest, and noblest sense, a man of the people, — the incarnation of republican principle and sentiment. His whole mental and spiritual structure were steeped in the faith that with us, government is from the people, to be exercised by the people, and for the people. If you trace him from his earliest speeches, by all that he has written and spoken from the time he left his home in Illinois to take upon himself his august office, down to his sublime address at Gettysburg, you will find this to be the pervading spirit and fundamental principle of them all. He everywhere recognizes the source whence all authority in this country is derived, the influences that should control its exercise, the responsibility it involves to the people and the responsibility which it imposes upon them. His whole official life may challenge proof of one instance of the abuse of authority for any selfish purpose,

or the assumption of any, which we did not conscientiously believe justified by the law under the necessities of the case, and for the safety of the people whose security was placed in his keeping. Of all the atrocious calumnies which ever stained the blackest page of political ribaldry, the charges against this great and good man, of intentional usurpation of unlawful authority, of seeking to tyrannize over his fellow-citizens, or of abusing his high trust for any selfish purpose, will hereafter be regarded with incredulity and indignation until they have sunk with their authors into contempt and forgetfulness.

Another and no less important element in the character of Mr. Lincoln was his personal integrity, so universally acknowledged and so characteristic of his whole life, as to have given him a title familiar to us all, homely indeed, but one which any family might be proud to retain as a patent of American nobility. Nor were his sturdiness of purpose, his perfect sincerity and manly frankness less conspicuous, all winning a measure of confidence and love vouchsafed to few men on earth, — and of the value of which in high places, we, my friends, too often seem strangely ignorant or forgetful.

But perhaps the talent which most particularly distinguished Mr. Lincoln, and qualified him so preeminently for his high office as the head of a popular government in times of such perilous perplexities and embarrassments, and to be the leader and guide in the great organic change which it was destined to undergo, was his profound, unobtrusive, and quietly exercised sagacity.

No one can have watched the quickness of perception,

profound good sense and ingenuous simplicity with which he has dealt with the numerous embarrassing questions which have arisen during his administration, as shown in his official papers, correspondence, and reported conversations, without admiration and delight. Nor can any one, it is believed, contemplate the tact, the far-reaching foresight, the broad statesmanship and prophetic wisdom evinced in his management of the seemingly insoluble problem of Slavery, and his gradual preparation of the public mind for its final stupendous solution, without a feeling akin to awe, as if they could only be the result of a Divine inspiration. With perfect comprehension of the principles of the Constitution, the determination to make them the rule of his administration, a marvellous insight into the moral forces pervading the minds and hearts of the people, a religious observer of the indications of Providential design, he did not seek to be accounted a prophet, but stood calmly a waiter upon events as manifestations of the inevitable results to which all were tending, in order to use them aright as means of accomplishing the salvation of his country.

No sketch of the character of Abraham Lincoln, however superficial, could be attempted without recognition of his simple, fervent, unostentatious piety, breathing alike in every important public document and throughout his correspondence and speeches to the last day of his life. He seemed to live and act under a pervading sense of the presence and providence of God; and in this doubtless he found much of the strength that preserved him so calm and firm, and even cheerful, in the terrific storms through

which he was called upon to pilot the State. No one can read his parting remarks to his friends in Illinois, when first taking leave of them, his exquisite speech at Gettysburg, than which nothing more grand or beautiful has fallen from the lips of man in this generation, or his sublime address at his second inauguration, which, although sneered at by some ignoble critics at home, has brought upon their knees even the *London Times* and *Saturday Review*, and been pronounced by high authority in England "a state paper, which, for political weight, moral dignity, and unaffected solemnity, has had no equal in our time," without the conviction that he was indeed a God-fearing and a God-trusting man. In the language, as it is believed, of one of the most eminent authors in England, we may well say: "When the heats of party passion and international jealousy have abated, when detraction has spent its malice and the scandalous gossip of the day goes the way of all lies, the place of Abraham Lincoln in the grateful affections of his countrymen, and in the respect of the world, will be second only, if it be second, to that of Washington himself."

These words were written while he was yet living, the revered and beloved ruler of our people. But the hand of the assassin has stricken him down and "the places that once knew him shall know him no more forever." The parricides have murdered the father of *their* country as well as of ours, for his generous and loving heart embraced them as well as us in its longings for friendly and fraternal restoration to the blessings of a common country. They have laid low the hand that was outstretched for their

protection from the vengeance of an outraged nation; they have slaughtered their best friend; and woe, woe to them, more than to us, will be the consequence of this atrocious murder.

But we must turn from this sad but interesting theme to ask ourselves for the interpretation of this seemingly horrible dream, from which we are yet but half awakened. Why has this terrible sin been suffered to be committed? How is it that the kind providence of God, which we have so exultingly, and I trust reverentially, claimed as manifested thus far in our behalf, thus apparently withdrawn its protection, suffered our beloved leader to be stricken down and our joy to be turned into mourning? — our exultant hopes into sadness and apprehension?

It would indeed be presumptuous in us to attempt to scan or to portray the designs of God in such an event as this. All that we may do is humbly to trust that He ordains all things for the best to those who seek the knowledge of His will, and to lay to heart the lesson He is thus teaching as it addresses itself to our consciences and our understanding.

As there seems to be no pretence that the assassins were instigated by any sense of personal wrong to themselves individually, committed by their victims; and as the attempted destruction of life was not confined to the President alone, but extended to the Minister of State, holding the next most important office in the nation, and whose services in this juncture are of peculiar moment; and there is good cause to believe was also designed to embrace the Minister of War, holding the keys of the military resources of the

nation, and other offices of state, there can be no reasonable doubt that these crimes were the fruits of a conspiracy for the breaking up or crippling of the Government, with a view to save the sinking fortunes of the Rebels, by giving them time for rallying their scattered forces and reviving their fainting courage, or for the deadly purpose of wreaking a fiendish revenge for the overthrow which they have sustained.

Where this conspiracy originated, and how far it extended; whether it was in pursuance of a plan concerted by the Rebel leaders, or under their auspices, or whether it was confined to a few desperate men only, is not and perhaps never may be satisfactorily ascertained. Nor, so far as our future safety or duty is concerned, is it material.

Unhappily for them, the whole course of conduct of the instigators and leaders of this Rebellion has been notoriously such as to render their participation or connivance in a crime like this neither impossible nor incredible. It is of hardly less, if any inferior atrocity, though of more dramatic conspicuousness, than many others of which they have been guilty. The whole tone of public sentiment with which they have long and systematically labored, by every species of falsehood and malignity, to poison and embitter the heart of the South against the North; the rewards offered in their public prints for the heads of Union officers; the atrocious threats and anathemas which they have, in public and in private, poured out upon the heads of our soldiers and people; the no longer questionable, deliberate, and fiendish destruction of the lives of thousands, and tens of thousands, of our brethren, their

prisoners of war, by lingering deaths from cold and starvation; the almost universal cruelty with which others were killed, maimed, or insulted, and even by women accounting themselves ladies; all too plainly indicate a deadly rancor and hatred nursed and encouraged towards the people of the North, of which this crime is nothing more than the natural fruit, and for which these instigators and leaders are justly accountable. It is but the natural culmination of the ferocity against the North so long cultivated as a Southern virtue.

It may be that this lesson was needed, more fully to impress upon us and the world the true character of this Rebellion, its inherent atrocity and the necessity for the further continuance of our utmost energy and caution in its entire suppression until every vestige of future danger shall have been removed. It may be that, bewildered by the magnitude of the Rebellion, extending over so vast an area, and infecting such large numbers of men, and dazzled by the valor and persistency with which they have attempted to maintain their cause, or lulled by the syren song of returning peace and commercial prosperity, we were becoming blind to the enormity of the crime; that a weak sentimentality was taking place of our manly perception of the right, and our resolution to maintain it; that there was danger that the old party associations and affiliations between Northern and Southern politicians might be again revived to enable the South to recover its ancient sway over the land, and allow its former leaders to resume their places in the halls of Congress.

It may be that the perfidy of the authors and plotters

of the Rebellion, in planning and preparing for its accomplishment, while holding posts of honor and trust under the Government, which they intended to destroy; that the stealing of fortresses and arms and ammunition held in trust for its use; the memorable bloody assault in the Senate chamber, on the perpetrator of which civic honors and splendid gifts and the approving smiles of fair women were showered without number, — a just type, indeed, of this then incipient crime; the bayoneting of wounded soldiers on the field of battle; the conversion of skulls of those killed into drinking-cups and their bones into armlets and necklaces; the robbery of prisoners of their only clothing; the raids and murders upon private citizens; the setting on fire of hotels and places of public amusement filled with women and children in crowded cities; the deliberate, fiendish murder of tens of thousands of prisoners of war by lingering deaths from cold and starvation — it may be that all these were not enough to excite in us and foreign nations a due sense of the terrible enormities of this Rebellion in its origin and prosecution, but that the dreadful climax of cold-blooded assassination was needed to complete its crowning atrocity and shame, and to make it stand out before the world and go down to history with this further dread stamp of infamy branded upon its forehead.

Perhaps the noble aristocracy of England, who have so readily joined hands with the bastard aristocracy of the South, founded upon traffic in human flesh, may recoil a little now that the hands of their chosen allies are clotted with the blood of the assassin's victim, as well as with that

of the slave. And the puissant Emperor of the French, who so adroitly attempted to embarrass our Government and encourage the Rebellion by his new Mexican empire, and who has had impressive experience, may, perhaps, feel a little fluttering at the heart, when he reflects that his American allies are not Rebels only, but assassins also.

It is to be hoped, and we will believe so long as we may, that the great mass of the Southern people will look upon this stupendous crime with horror and detestation; and that it may awaken many of them to a sense of the hideous nature of the Rebellion and its inevitable tendencies. To all such, who may be disposed to return to their allegiance to the Government in sincerity and good faith, we should stand ready with open arms to receive them; but to the plotters and instigators of this foul treason, and its chief managers and leaders, no such return should be permitted. Their extermination by death or exile is the only atonement that can be made for the oceans of precious blood with which they have deluged the land and desolated our homes; the only reasonable vindication of the majesty of the laws they have violated, and of the authority they have defied.

The right of military occupation of the territories of the Rebel States, until the inhabitants shall have been entirely subdued and brought into submission to the authority of the Government of the Union, is unquestionable. That right will not cease upon the mere laying down of arms and professions of allegiance. It will continue so long as there is reason to apprehend danger of renewed revolt, or resistance of the law, or violation of the peace or rights of

loyal citizens, to whose safety such occupation is essential. And of the necessity of its continuance the Government is the sole and exclusive legal judge. Whenever, then, such allegiance shall be honestly declared and faithfully adhered to by the great majority of the inhabitants, let them be restored as an organized State under the Constitution, visiting with condign punishment those disposed to disturb its peace or withhold such allegiance. But whenever the people submit, only because they must, to superior force, and retain their sullen hatred of the people and government of the loyal States, and their disposition to evade or resist its lawful authority, then let no such restoration take place, — and if they elect extermination by exile or death rather than faithful allegiance, then let that extermination come, and let the blood be upon their own heads. Our first, our most solemn and imperative duty to ourselves, to our posterity, and to the civilized world, is to restore the authority of the Union throughout the length and breadth of the land originally under its sway. And here to-day, upon the altar of our country, now freshly weeping with the blood of its last and chief martyr, let us unitedly and fervently pledge ourselves, that we will expend the last dollar of our means, and coin our heart's blood if need be, to fulfil this duty and accomplish this great salvation.

Fellow-citizens: One of the grandest, if not the sublimest, of the manifestations of the character of our people, in the vicissitudes of this terrible conflict, has been the religious faith which they have manifested alike in its successes and its reverses. Indeed, it seems hardly possible, in contemplation of the wonderful course of events, all,

however seemingly adverse some may have for a time appeared, working together to produce the grand result, in the near approach of which we now rejoice, — and in view of the final solution of that dread problem of human slavery which had so long baffled the wisdom of the wisest, and seemed hopeless even in the eyes of Christian faith, — it seems, I say, hardly possible to doubt the immediate hand of God, as guiding us through this wilderness of crime and suffering. May we not hope that the fervent faith of our fathers has descended, with their love of freedom and energy of character, to their children, and that we may manifest ourselves to be, as they were, a God-trusting and God-abiding people? God has permitted his chosen servant, after fulfilment of the glorious mission on which he was sent, to depart without lingering pain, in the zenith of his fame, amidst the affections of a grateful people, and with the tears of a great nation falling on his grave, to take his place above, with Him upon whom he trusted, — and his place in the eternal memory of ages, by the side of the Father of his Country. Let us humbly believe that His guardian care will still be over us, and that this dire calamity, now so fearful in our eyes, may be made instrumental in the restoration of our country.

One other duty awaits us, my friends, to which I must allude before relieving your patience. It is that which we owe to him who now, under the Constitution, has become the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He was chosen by us to the position which now makes him the executive head of the Union, because of our confidence in his ability and patriotism; because of his meritorious services in up-

holding the Government in circumstances of peculiar personal peril, and his unquestionable fidelity to the cause of the Union. Let us, then, readily and cheerfully pledge to him the same united and cordial support given to his predecessor, in full confidence that he will deserve it, — and so fulfil the solemn duties of his exalted station as to enrol his name also, among the distinguished benefactors of his country.

Hon. Alexander H. Rice was then introduced. He said: —

Mr. Mayor: I earnestly wish that I might remain a silent observer and listener amid these solemn scenes. To me the occasion needs no interpretation by speech; the meditations of the last two days, the appalling tidings as they have spread from mouth to mouth, the saddened countenances of the people, the tearful eyes, the beating hearts, the solemn step, the decorated dwellings, the closed places of business, and now these mourning emblems in this temple of liberty, — these are the eloquent interpreters of the public sorrow.

I feel deep down in my soul a fervent love and veneration for that great and good patriot who has just now passed from the society of men and the duties of earth to the assembly of heaven; but it is impossible for me thus early either to rightly estimate his services or to portray his virtues. It will indeed require more than one day or one lifetime to gather up all the beneficent fruits of his career.

Would that some tongue could gather up all that he

has done and its consequences, and pour it into the ears of this nation and of mankind, so that in this time of stupendous sorrow we might lay upon his bier the just tribute of our veneration and gratitude and love. He was a patriot and a statesman in the broadest and completest signification of those terms. He was eminently wise, fearless in the maintenance of the right, as gentle as a child to the erring, magnanimous beyond all precedent to his personal enemies. Who that contemplates such a character, united to such varied and important services as marked his administration of the Presidential office, can but exclaim, O, Justice, surveying our past national sins, could'st thou be satisfied with no less a sacrifice? O, Death, could not reddened fields and hecatombs of dead complete thy carnival without taking him also who was the deliverer and the hope of this people!

Fellow Citizens: Among the great benefits which the nation has derived from its experience under the guidance of him whose departure we mourn, is a better knowledge of ourselves and of the nature and stability of the institutions under which we live. We have, during the whole of his administration, been passing through the terrible ordeal of civil war. Before the test of this experience was applied, one-half of the discord and resistance which we have endured, would, in the belief of mankind, have thrown the nation into anarchy, and its institutions, civil and political, into ruin; but with all the conflicts of the four years past, and with the prospect of immediate peace before us, I believe the nation is stronger now than it has

been at any period since the sun first shone upon its flag. And we may also learn from this last and tragical calamity that the country lives, not in men, but in institutions and laws. Let us gather out of the past and the present the sustaining hope that comes to us as we look upon the effigies of departed patriots by which we are here surrounded, and upon whom and their compeers the Republic so much depended in days by gone. Washington is dead. Franklin is dead. the Adamses are dead, and all their associates are gone. Clay and Jackson, and our own Webster and Everett, of later years, have departed, and now Lincoln is dead. But the Republic lives; and because its foundations are laid in immortal truth, it will live as long as the stars shine on the face of the sky. And hence we derive the admonition that we must not long bathe our faces with tears, must not stand gazing upon the cold remains in the Presidential mansion, nor into the waiting grave so soon to receive all that is mortal of him in whom we just now trusted. We may, indeed, mingle our sympathies with that weeping wife and with those sorrowing children, weighed down with grief almost insupportable; and we may mourn with the poor and the oppressed everywhere, who have lost, in the martyred President, their greatest friend and their untiring benefactor. But we must summon also our best energies for the new exigencies and duties of the present and the future which this calamity has thrown upon us and upon our countrymen. And first of all let us give our prompt and cordial and undivided support to Andrew Johnson, who now becomes President in accordance with

the provisions of the Constitution. He is worthy of our confidence, of our respect, and of our hearty co-operation in the great and exhausting duties to which he is so suddenly called. Since he appeared in public life, his career has been that of a patriot and a hero; and since the great Rebellion against the Government arose, he, a Southern man, has maintained a steadfast fealty to his country, to its laws, its institutions and to its liberties; and, whether in the Senate Chamber or as Governor of Tennessee, has met the doctrines and machinations of treason in every form with manly and defiant resistance. Let us admit to our minds no fears or doubts that the same guiding Providence which has carried the nation safely thus far through this tremendous trial will be with it to the end. Does some man say that he does not know Andrew Johnson? Well, we knew Abraham Lincoln even less; but we took him upon trust, and God revealed him to us as a great instrument of his power in delivering the oppressed from their bondage, and in shaping the destiny of this nation through a more exalted and illustrious career. Does some man doubt whether any successor can be like him? God only knows how great a patriot or what varied qualities of mind and heart may be needed; but if the exigencies of the immediate future shall call for the exercise of great and strong, and yet gentle powers, we may trust that the selection of him who now accedes to the place of the lately departed President, was not made without the same acknowledged Divine interposition and direction.

The record of Andrew Johnson is the history of a brave

and honest man, possessing a comprehensive mind, an open and generous heart quickened by the impulses of patriotic devotion to liberty and his country. And if, in these hours of natural depression and distrust, there be doubts whether every event in his career has merited our approbation; if, in short, in a single instance we should have felt a strong and fervent disapproval, yet let God be praised if we can any of us gather all our misdoings into the compass of a single act; ay, and let Him be devoutly thanked if we can offset the damaging incident by a long record of laborious and faithful services. For my part, Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens, I have confidence and hope in the future: apart from this great tragedy all the events and circumstances by which we are encompassed are encouraging. The Army and Navy of the Republic have pressed back the once towering and threatening waves of Treason and Rebellion. The lamented President, their Commander-in-Chief, lived long enough to see the Rebel flags trailed in the dust and the Rebel leader surrender the flower of his army. He lived long enough to see the Rebellion practically ended; and in looking for the instructive lesson that it may be designed we shall be taught by the melancholy and tragic event which has taken the Chief Magistrate of the country from us, perhaps God in His wisdom saw it was a greater boon than any one mortal should possess, to enjoy all the benedictions that shall follow the triumph over rebellion and the restoration of peace to our distracted land. Perhaps it was necessary for our future security and for the ends of justice, that he should pass away at this point of time and at this stage of

public affairs, and be succeeded by another, born and raised in that section of the country where the Rebellion was nurtured and originated, and who more intimately understands its atrocity, and the spirit and purposes of parricides and traitors.

It may be that Andrew Johnson's knowledge of the complications of slavery with the civil and industrial systems of the rebellious States, was necessary to secure us against the reappearance of its influence, and to blot out its existence from our land. It may be that his firm hand was necessary to guide the nation's settlement with the public enemies in accordance with the terms of law and righteousness. He has yet had no opportunity to declare his official policy, nor to state with deliberation what he will seek to do with those who may be amenable to the law; but he has declared that he esteems treason to be the greatest of crimes, — a crime to be punished and not lightly forgiven, — and in this declaration he has but embodied the sentiment and feeling of a large majority of his countrymen. Exhilarated by the prospect of returning peace, we unite the influences of magnanimity, of charity, and of forgiveness; we accept the conviction and cherish the hope that by some means, in the exercise of forbearance and consistently with the public honor and a sense of justice, the masses of the people in the now alienated sections of the country are to become speedily reconciled; but the instigators of this Treason and Rebellion, the authors and principals in its barbarous atrocities, and sickening cruelties, and assassinations, must suffer the penalty of their crimes. We want no more of their seditious utterances, sent forth to breed discord and

death through the land; we want no more of their open or secret conspiracies against the lives either of citizens or of the Republic; no more of their presence in our halls of legislation, none of their fellowship in our society; and the loyal people will demand that henceforth they shall not be admitted there. This is demanded, not by vengeance but by justice, if there be any virtue in penalties anywhere, and as a security in the future against the recurrence of a similar calamity; that it may teach the lesson also to future Presidents and Cabinets that the power and authority of the nation are superior to those of the States; and that hereafter treason must be strangled in its infancy.

Fellow-citizens, let us not doubt, even in this dark hour of national sorrow, that peace is near at hand, — such a peace as shall bring compensation for the sacrifices and for the heroism of this war, — peace to a country delivered from slavery as well as from war; and which in view of its future greatness and reunion is already calling upon us for a fresh consecration to freedom and to God.

Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., made the following remarks: —

The Martyr President! The Martyr President!

> "Treason has done its worst! Nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch him further."

This is the great tragedy of history! The most appalling, the most pernicious, the most sickening! For the assassination of rulers, there has often been some show of provocation or public cause; but our President has

— "borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking off."

But this catastrophe is too vast, its lessons too vital, for us to linger long about the person of the victim, however strongly affection may bind us. Simple, prudent, natural, faithful, affectionate, as a man; events and causes providential, inherent, circumstantial, and accidental have made him the central figure in the great era of modern times. It would be unworthy of him and his place in history, beneath the vastness of the catastrophe, unfitting the sacredness of this Hall, if we did not force our minds from the contemplation of the tragic scene and the personal loss, to listen to the great lessons that this event is reading to us.

It seems to be written that no great blessing, no redemption can come to race or nation, as not to human nature itself, without the shedding of blood. This blood must be sacramental to our country. It must be the seal, the final seal to the covenant of our national existence and of human rights.

Shall we dip our napkins in his blood with vows of vengeance? No! The innocent blood of that kind heart would teach us no such lesson. His life and death were for his country and the liberty of the oppressed. Let us take to heart then, as in the presence of the dead, the lessons his death teaches us.

The spirit of assassination must be rebuked and cast out. We owe it to the safety of our public men, and to

the fair fame of our country. We hoped it was the vice of other ages and other climes. Is it possible that the Southern temper, with the passions which Slavery fosters, is developing in that direction? When our Senator was struck down in the Senate chamber, by the representative from Carolina, was it rebuked? was it discountenanced by the power in whose interests it was done? No! It was applauded and honored by its legislatures, by its constituencies, by its press, without one prominent responsible exception. Then came the murders and massacres by which Slavery was forced into Kansas. Then came the general appeal to arms. Is it possible, that that appeal failing, there is a spirit that leads them to the secret steel and to the poisoned cup? If this be so, the soldier must meet it in arms, the magistrate with the sword of justice, wherever it appears in act. These murderers are not paradoxes, anachronisms, without cause or accompaniments. They are but the crests of a wave that lifts them up and bears them on. The *spirit* must be exorcised, not by violence, not by retaliation, for then violence becomes the order of the day. Wherever any of its spirit appears, religion must denounce it as a sin, and society cast it out as an offence. Here, in New England, if there is a spot which did not answer with horror to the tidings of this crime, "Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England." If there was a man whose first thought and utterance were not that of horror and reprobation, who needed a second thought to furnish him the seemly utterance, What shall we do with him? I will tell you. If he be hungry, feed him! If he be naked, clothe him! sick or in prison, minister unto

him! But mark him! Let him live! But let him live among you "a man forbid."

The last four years have been a daily issue of life and death for our country, the most momentous, perilous, and costly struggle ever made for a nation's life. The scale has turned for life. The clouds of war are clearing away, but the civil dangers are imminent. Among the last words of Mr. Lincoln, I find a true statement of the great principle which must guide us, and which at this hour we may lay to heart He declared that this Rebellion is the act of individuals, and return to allegiance must be the act of individuals; that there is no public body to be dealt with. If that simple, homely principle is adhered to, the Republic will come out a Government, — in the strict sense of the term, a *State*. If it is not adhered to, we permit ourselves to be resolved into a Confederation. He clearly understood that the Republic was a sovereignty, to which each citizen owed a direct and paramount allegiance, from which no State could absolve him, and consequently that in return to allegiance and in the restoration of peace, no State could be a party to a transaction with the Republic. In war with a recognized nation, there is a power with which you can make a treaty of peace, and a moment up to which lawful war exists, and after which peace begins. But in this Rebellion, peace must come as fair weather comes after a tempest, as general health comes after the plague or the cholera. But who ever heard of health established by a compact to which the public were one party and the epidemic another? Yet, how near some ill-instructed men came to sacrificing this vital principle the

other day at Richmond! Thank God, the President lived long enough, with his Cabinet, to set it right! No State can be permitted to repeal its ordinance of secession. No State Legislature can be permitted to deliberate upon the question of coming back into the Union. The authority of the Republic over every foot of its soil and every one of its citizens has never ceased. It must go on *as of right*, and not by the consent of any body natural, or any body political.

Mr. Lincoln, from the beginning of his public life until war changed the face of the question, contented himself with resisting the advance of Slavery. Had the country resisted it as he did, the war might never have begun. At last, he would be content with nothing less than its total extinction. This lesson his death must consecrate. To this covenant of freedom the seal of his blood is set.

There is but one more lesson which at this moment I seem to read through the gloomy air. It is the lesson of forgiveness and conciliation. But when and how? They are neither wise nor humane who are inexorable as to persons, but cloudy and temporizing on the vital principle. Let us be inflexible on the principle. When that has triumphed, when the Republic is recognized as paramount by its own power and right, when all citizens have submitted as individuals, and the course of civil law runs smooth through the country, then the lesson of conciliation and pardon is to be put in practice. Then, not till then, has the war ceased. A trial of strength or skill, a boxing-match, ends when one party ceases to fight. But war is not a trial of strength. It is a resort to force, to secure a

public object. You may hold your enemy in the grasp of war, until your just objects are secured. We will then practise conciliation and forgiveness to the full measure of Mr. Lincoln's kind and generous heart. In vast political rebellions, which have taken the dimensions of war, and have been treated as belligerent for the time, at home and abroad, — it is justifiable to punish as traitors a few who originated and concocted the treason. Yet, after security is obtained, it is not in accordance with Christian civilization or the dignity and best interests of a people, to pursue whole communities with criminal or penal consequences. God grant the time may come, and that speedily, when a conciliation and peace may exist over the land, which would satisfy the kindest wishes of this our chief martyr, ever hereafter to be called — of blessed memory!

The meeting closed with a Benediction, pronounced by Rev. Dr. Lothrop.

PROCESSION

AND

SERVICES ON THE FIRST OF JUNE.

PROCESSION AND SERVICES ON THE FIRST OF JUNE.

The President of the United States having set apart Thursday, the first of June, 1865, as a day whereon all should be occupied at the same time in contemplation of the virtues, and sorrow for the sudden and violent end of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, that day was selected by the Committee appointed under the resolutions of the City Council, as a proper occasion for the delivery of a Eulogy before the City Government. An invitation was extended to the Honorable Charles Sumner, to deliver the Eulogy in Music Hall, and was accepted. As a number of organizations, civil and military, had expressed a desire to make some demonstration of respect to the memory of the late President, arrangements were made for a Procession on the same day. Col. Francis W. Palfrey was appointed Chief Marshal; and, in accordance with a general invitation from His Honor the Mayor, a large number of bodies, Military, Masonic, Charitable, Trades, and Fire companies, in Boston and its immediate vicinity, reported to him for orders. The Procession was announced to move at 12 o'clock M., and was marshalled in the following order: —

THE ESCORT.

Mounted Police under the command of Capt. Edward H. Savage, Deputy Chief.

Brig. Gen. Wm. F. Bartlett, Commanding Escort.

Capt. Chas. B. Amory, Assistant Adj. General.

Band from the Charlestown Navy Yard.

Battalion of United States Marines, Capt. George Butler Commanding.

Detachment of Sailors from the United States Receiving Ship.

Boston Brigade Band.

Independent Corps of Cadets, Lieut. Col. C. C. Holmes.

Second Regiment of Infantry, M. V. M., Lieut. Col. O. W. Peabody commanding.

Twenty-fifth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Alfred N. Proctor.

Morse's Cambridge Band.

Fourteenth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Lewis Gaul.

Ninth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Geo. H. Smith.

First Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Moses E. Bigelow.

Cambridge Brass Band.

Thirty-first Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Robt. Torrey, Jr.

Twelfth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Geo. A. Meacham.

First Light Battery, M. V. M., Capt. Lucius J. Cummings.

Second Light Battery, M. V. M., Capt. Warren French.

Haverhill Cornet Band.

Thirty-fourth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Charles F. Harrington.

Fourth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. John Q. Adams.

Fortieth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. John R. Farrell.

Forty-sixth Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. Timothy A. Hurley.

Co. D. 42d Regiment of Infantry, M. V. M., Capt. J. P. Jordan.

Fifty-third Unattached Company, M. V. M., Capt. John Maguire.

Chauncy Hall School Company, Capt. Gerald Wyman.

English High School Company, Capt. Thomas G. Johonnot.

Gilmore's Band.

Seventh Regiment of Infantry, M. V. M., Capt. H. O. Whittemore commanding.

Chelsea Brass Band.

First Battalion of Cavalry, M. V. M., Major Chas. W. Wilder.

Capt. Geo. W. Bird, Chief Engineer of the Fire Department.

Assistant Engineers, John S. Damrell, David Chamberlin, Joseph Dunbar.

Veterans of the Department in carriages.

Engine No. 1, Capt. Fred. Wright.

Hose No. 1, Capt. B. C. Brownell.

Hook and Ladder No. 1, Capt. Moses Place.

Engine No. 2, Capt. John Brown.

Hose No. 2, Capt. Benj. Wright.

Hook and Ladder No. 2, Capt. Charles Simmons.

Engine No. 3, Capt. F. Hines.

Hose No. 3, Capt. Geo. W. Clark.

Hook and Ladder No. 3, Capt J. F. Marston.

Engine No. 4, Capt. John A. Fines.

Howard Engine No. 1, of Charlestown, Capt. H. L. Whiting.

Fire King Engine No. 2, of Chelsea, Capt. D. W. Pepper.

Hose No. 4, Capt. H. V. Haywood.

Engine No. 5, Capt Geo. A. Tucker.

Hose No. 5, Capt. Silas Lovell.

Engine No. 6, Capt. Chas. C. Geer.

Hose No. 6, Capt. Joseph Barnes.

Engine No. 7, Capt. Geo. L. Imbert.

Engine No. 8, Capt. John S. Jacobs.

Hose No. 8, Capt. Chas. H. Prince.

Hose No. 9, Capt. Thos. C. Byrnes.

Engine No. 10, Capt Rufus B. Farrar.

Hose No. 10, Capt. Joseph Frye.

Col. Francis W. Palfrey, *Chief Marshal.*

Aids.

Brevt. Brig. Gen. Wm. S. Tilton,	Col. Chas. L. Peirson,
Maj. B. W. Crowninshield,	Francis Bartlett,
A. J. Holbrook,	John M. Glidden.

Volunteer Aids, consisting of officers of Massachusetts Volunteers, under the command of Col. A. F. Devereux.

FIRST DIVISION.

Portsmouth Brass Band.

Detachment of Police under Sergeant Dunn.

Brevet. Brig. Gen. F. A. Osborn, Chief of Division.

Maj. Edward C. Richardson, Capt Thos. M. Sweet, Marshals.

Col. John Kurtz, Chief of Police.

His Honor the Mayor, and President of the Common Council.

Committee of Arrangements and Chaplains of the Day.

Invited guests, consisting of officers of the Army and Navy, representatives of Foreign Powers, and distinguished gentlemen from abroad.

Members of the Board of Aldermen, the City Clerk, and City Messenger.

Members of the Common Council and Clerk.

Members of the School Committee.

Trustees, Superintendent, and Librarian of the Public Library.

Trustees and Superintendent of the City Hospital.

Trustees of the Mount Hope Cemetery.

Members of the Board of Directors for Public Institutions, and officers of the Institutions.

Members of the Cochituate Water Board and Secretary.

City Treasurer, City Auditor, City Solicitor, and City Engineer.

City Physician, Port Physician, Consulting Physician, and Physicians and Surgeons of the City Hospital.

Superintendent of Streets, Superintendent of Public Buildings, Superintendent of Internal Health, Superintendent of Sewers and Lands.

City Registrar and Water Registrar.

Principal Assessors and other city officers.

Members of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

Members of the Humane Society of Massachusetts.

Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Members of the Historic-Genealogical Society.

SECOND DIVISION.

Boston Cornet Band.

Sam'l A. B. Bragg, Chief of Division.

Geo. M. White, J. Frederic Marsh, Marshals.

This Division was composed of the following named Temperance Organizations : —

New Era Division.

Grand Division.

Old Bay State Division.

Massachusetts Division.

American Division.

Caledonia Division.

Island Home Division.

Bond's Cornet Band.

Grand Temple of Honor.

Trimount Temple of Honor.

Bay State Temple of Honor.

Union Temple of Honor.

Crystal Fount Temple of Honor.

Williams Temple of Honor.
Commonwealth Temple of Honor.
Radiant Star Temple of Honor.
Sagamore Temple of Honor.
Naiad Temple of Honor.

All the Organizations were clad in regalia, and bore the banners and insignia peculiar to the order.

THIRD DIVISION.

Germania Band.
Wm. B. May, Chief of Division.
Wm. H Hill, Jr., Asa Potter, Marshals.
The Grand Lodge and Subordinate Lodges of Masons of Massachusetts.
Woburn Brass Band.

The Grand Lodge of the Independent order of Odd Fellows of Massachusetts, and Subordinate Lodges, as follows: —

Massachusetts Lodge.
Siloam Lodge.
Boston Lodge.
Oriental Lodge.
Tremont Lodge.
Franklin Lodge.
Bethesda Lodge.
Hermann Lodge.
Bunker Hill Lodge, Charlestown.
Mutual Relief Lodge, Haverhill.
Montezuma Lodge.
Bond's Second Band.
Ancient York Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Lieut. Col. C. G. Rowell, Chief of Division.

Lieut. Geo. W. Perkins, Wm. D. Foster, P. McInerny, Marshals.

Express Wagons of Adams & Co. Harnden & Co. and the American Company.

American Brass Band of Providence.

Trades Associations in the following order: —

Workingmen's Assembly, composed of delegates of the various Trades Unions.

Cooper's Union No. 1, of Massachusetts.

Boston Painter's Protective Union.

Steam Boiler Makers' Union.

Steam Boiler Makers from the Chief Engineer's Department in the Navy Yard.

Sailmakers' Union Association.

Tailors' Trade and Protective Society.

Shipwright's Union.

Journeymen Shipwrights' Association, of Boston and vicinity.

Ship Fastener's Association of Charlestown.

Journeymen Marble Cutters' Association.

Brass Band from Fort Independence.

Columbian Association of Shipwrights and Caulkers. [Two ancient banners were carried in the ranks of this Society, one of which was carried at the funeral procession of Washington in 1799.]

Bookbinders' Association.

Boston Printers' Union.

FIFTH DIVISION.

U. S. Band from Galloupe's Island.
Col. P. R. Guiney, Chief of Division.
Lieut. Col. Norton, Capt. C. C. Plunkett, Marshals.

Military Associations in the following order: —

Bunker Hill Soldiers' Association, of Charlestown.
Massachusetts Volunteers in the Mexican War.
Eleventh Regiment Association.
Nims' Battery Associates.
First Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers.
Lynn Veterans' Union.
Massachusetts Veterans' Union, of Boston.

The rear of the Division was formed by a body of between two hundred and three hundred disabled soldiers in carriages, belonging mainly to the Boston Veterans' Union.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Metropolitan Band of Boston.
Michael Doherty, Chief of Division.
James Fitzgerald, Thos. Doherty, Marshals.

Irish Associations in the following order: —

American Hibernian Society.
Boston United Laborers' Society.
The Fenian Brotherhood, composed of the following circles.
Boston Circle.
South Boston Circle.
East Boston Circle.
Chelsea Circle.

McManus Circle of Boston.
Wolf Tone Circle of Boston.
Charlestown Circle.
Somerville Circle.
Emmet Circle, East Cambridge.
Davis Circle, Lynn.
Davis Circle, Cambridge.
Taunton Circle.
Brighton and Brookline Circle.
Watertown Circle.
Stoneham Circle.
South Reading Circle.
Woburn Circle.
West Cambridge Circle.
Weymouth Circle.
Corcoran Circle, Boston.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Salem Brass Band.
James J. Flynn, Chief of Division.
Charles J. McCarthy, T. J. Leary, Marshals.

Irish Associations in the following order : —

Boston Roman Catholic Mutual Relief Society.
St. John's Institute Band.
St. John's Mutual Relief Society.
Boston Shamrock Society.
St. Vincent's Total Abstinence and Mutual Relief Society.
Boston Irish American Benevolent Society.
Hibernian Benevolent Society.
Emmet Association, accompanied by Quimby's Drum Corps.
Brighton Mutual Relief Society.

United Association of American Hibernians.
Brookline Hibernian Association.
Boston Provident Laborers' Benevolent Association.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

Malden Brass Band.
Ezekiel W. Pike, Chief of Division.
David F. McGilvray, Maj. J. W. McDonald, Marshals.
Miscellaneous Societies in the following order: —
Boston Scottish Club.
Scots' Charitable Society.
Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association.
Charlestown Cornet Band.
German St. Vincent's Society.
Scandinavian Benevolent Relief Society.
Newton Brass Band.
American Protestant Association.
Independent Order of Redmen.

At the hour designated, the different divisions were put in motion over the following route: Through Cornhill, Dock Square, Market Square, south side, and South Market Street to Commercial Street, through Commercial Street to Fleet Street, through Fleet Street to Hanover Street, up Hanover Street to Blackstone Street, through Blackstone Street, Haymarket Square, and Merrimac Street to Causeway Street, through Causeway Street to Leverett Street, through Leverett Street to Green Street, through Green Street, Court Street, Tremont Row, and Tremont Street to Beacon Street, through Beacon Street to Berkeley Street, through Berkeley Street, to Commonwealth Avenue, through Commonwealth Avenue to Arlington Street, through Arlington Street to Boylston Street, through

Boylston Street to Park Square, through Park Square and Pleasant Street to Tremont Street, through Tremont Street to Chester Square, through Chester Square and Chester Park to Washington Street, through Washington Street to Cornhill.

The number of persons in the Procession was estimated at about twelve thousand; and the time occupied in passing a given point, was one hour and forty minutes. On the arrival of the right of the escort at Winter Street, soon after three o'clock, it was halted and formed in line until the carriages containing the City Government and invited guests had proceeded up Winter Street to the entrance of Music Hall.

The Hall was elaborately draped with the insignia of mourning. The face of the upper balcony, opposite the platform, bore the inscription —

"Abraham Lincoln,
"Born Feb. 12, 1809. Died April 15, 1865."

And the side balconies —

"Inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1861."
"Emancipation Proclamation Issued Jan. 1, 1863."

At the rear of the Hall were white banners suspended, with these inscriptions: —

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us: that from the honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they have given the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that the government by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."— *Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg*, Nov. 19, 1863.

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God shall give us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wound, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."— *Extract from President Lincoln's Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1865.

The platform was occupied by invited guests, and by members of the Handel and Haydn chorus, numbering about six hundred. In front of the organ there was a massive black pedestal, surmounted by an urn, which was covered by a profusion of flowers.

At a quarter past four o'clock the services were opened with a voluntary on the organ, by Mr. B. J. Lang.

Rev. E. B. Webb offered the following prayer: —

O Lord our God, assembled that we may commemorate the virtues and honor the memory of our late beloved and martyred President, we turn to thee rejoicing that thou ever livest. We are like the grass of the field, — in the morning it flourisheth and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down and withereth. But with thee there is no morning and no evening, — no beginning and no end. We change, die, and disappear, but thou art the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Creatures of a moment, we rejoice in thine Eternity. And we thank thee for the knowledge which we have of thine attributes, character, and condescension to the sinful children of men. Though thou dost by no means clear the guilty, to the penitent and believing thou dost show thyself merciful, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and

sin. Do thou, who knowest the thoughts of all hearts, make us truly penitent, and for the sake of Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Saviour, pardon all our neglect, omission, and failure, — pardon all our transgression of the commands, precepts, and spirit of thy most holy law and gospel. And send the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to make us more tenderly obedient, and more truly like Him who is our example as well as our Redeemer.

We thank thee to-day, O thou who hast appointed the times and the bounds of the nations, for the rich broad land in which we dwell; and for the strong free government under which we live. We thank thee for the memory of thy great goodness unto our fathers in the midst of persecutions, privations, perils, and wars. We thank thee for the mercies shown us, their children, in these four long years of Rebellion, bloodshed, grief, and anguish, — for the spirit of our people and for the success of our arms. Truly thy judgments have been severe, and as just as severe; but in the midst of wrath thou hast remembered mercy. By terrible things in righteousness hast thou answered us, O God of our Salvation.

Especially now do we thank thee for the President whom thou didst give us to preside over the Government in these perilous times, and to bring our affairs to a prosperous issue. Thou art our Creator and Preserver, and thou art glorified in the life of all good men. We thank thee that thou didst turn the hearts of the people to this man again and again; and that thou didst shield him against sickness, accident, and the assaults of the enemy, till his noble character was definitely defined and dis-

tinctly brought out to the eyes and the apprehensions of all men. We thank thee for that childlike, honest mind, — for that sweet, forgiving temper, — for that large, practical common sense, which together called forth the confidence of the people and bound them to him as with hooks of steel. We thank thee that though he did not live to enjoy the fruits of his toils and sacrifices, he did live long enough to see the glory of the coming day. And now that he is no more, help us with a truly grateful and appreciative spirit to receive the inheritance of his virtues and his life. Help us also to hear the voice which speaks to us from his lips, bidding us trust thee in the darkest hours; bidding us watch for the finger of thy Providence to determine our way; bidding us to break every yoke, and to mingle forbearance with severity, and mercy with justice in all our acts. Sanctify to this nation the bereavement which has come upon us, and cause the wrath and wickedness of traitors and assassins to praise thee. May we learn not to trust in an arm of flesh, but in the Lord God Almighty.

And now let thy blessing rest to-day and in the days to come upon all the departments of the Government which thou hast so graciously sustained and so greatly prospered, — regard thy servant, the President of these United States, spare his life and bestow upon him the spirit of counsel and of might; make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord. Guide him in judgment, and make his administration a reign of righteousness. Lay thy hand in benediction also upon his Cabinet, and lift them above all selfish ambition, party-strife, and prejudice, — upon our

Senators and Representatives in Congress, and enable them to understand thy will, and to define and declare it in laws which the people shall receive into their hearts and consciences, and obey. Behold also and bless the Chief Justice, and all his associates. Smile graciously upon the Lieutenant-General, and upon all subordinate officers, — upon our army and our navy.

Bless, we beseech thee, all the people, and sanctify the loss and bereavement to those who mourn their dead, slain in battle, starved in hostile prisons, or worn out with disease and wounds in hospitals and show them that the prize gained for us and for our children, and for the nations and generations to come, is worth the terrible cost.

And do thou, O God, forgive our enemies, defeated in their appeal to arms, conquered at last on every field. Have mercy upon the souls of such as shall be called to surrender their forfeited lives in expiation of their crimes and in satisfaction of justise. Grant repentance and pardon to all, O Lord, and make them henceforth loyal to thee and to the Government whose hand has ever been outstretched with protection and blessing. Remember with thy favor the city in which we dwell, — all its officers and enterprises. Make the mournful occasion which calls us together at this time one of lasting profit to every citizen and to the stranger within our gates. Help thy servant who is to address us, to speak the truth in love, and cause all the exercises of this day and the events of these years, — all the terrible scenes and sufferings through which we have been made to pass, to contribute to the purifying of

our hearts, to the perfecting of the nation, and to the advancement of thy truth and glory throughout this whole land and the world. Hear us, O Lord, in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou dost always hear.

And unto thy great and adorable name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, shall be ascribed all honor, dominion, and praise, now and evermore. AMEN.

The dirge, "Mourn ye Afflicted People," from Judas Maccabeus, was then performed by the Handel and Haydn Society, after which Rev. Warren H. Cudworth read the following selections from the Scriptures: —

Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, unto a land that I will shew thee: and I will bless thee; and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed. — Gen. xii. 1–3.

And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the South. — Gen. xii. 9.

And the Lord said, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, Northward, and Southward, and Eastward, and Westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it. In the length of it, and in the breadth of it, I will give it unto thee. — Gen. xiii. 14–17.

Fear not, I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward. — Gen. xv. 1.

And he believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness. — Gen. xv. 6.

And the Lord said unto him, I am the Almighty God: walk before me, and be thou perfect. — Gen. xvii. 1.

And it came to pass at that time, that the Chief Captain of his host spake unto Abraham, saying, God is with thee in all that thou doest. — Gen. xxi. 22.

And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham; by myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that in blessing I will bless thee; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies, because thou hast obeyed my voice. — Gen. xxii. 11, 16–18.

The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and He delighteth in his way. — Ps. xxxvii. 23.

Thou, Lord, wilt bless the righteous; with favor wilt thou compass him as with a shield. — Ps. v. 12.

Some trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God.—Ps. xx. 7.

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord: and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance. — Ps. xxxiii. 12.

Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire. — Ps. xlvi. 8, 9.

God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God. — Ps. lxii. 11.

By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth and of them that are afar off upon the sea. — Ps. lxv. 5.

Thou, O God, hast proved us, thou hast tried us as silver is tried. Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place. — Ps. lxvi. 10–12.

God bringeth out those which are bound with chains: but the

rebellious dwell in a dry land, and his enemies shall lick the dust. — Ps. lxviii. 6: lxxii. 9.

O Lord God of hosts, thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm. The North and the South, thou hast created them. Justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne: mercy and truth shall go before thy face. — Ps. lxxxix. 8, 10, 14.

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he remembered his holy promise, and Abraham his servant: and he brought forth his people with joy and his chosen with gladness. And gathered them out of the lands, from the East, and from the West, from the North, and from the South, and led them forth by the right way. For He hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder. — Ps. cv. 1, 42, 43. Ps. cvii. 3, 7, 16. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. —Ps. cl. 6.

There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord. — Prov. xxi. 30. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: He bringeth down to the grave, and he bringeth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, to set them among princes: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them. He will keep the feet of his saints; and the wicked shall be silent in darkness: for by strength shall no man prevail. — 1 Sam. ii. 6, 8, 9.

Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? are not his days also like the days of an hireling? — Job vii. 1.

As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more. — Job vii. 9, 10.

There is no man that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death: and there is no discharge in that war. — Eccles. viii. 8.

Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. — Ps. xxxvii. 37.

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. — Ps. cxvi. 15.

A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth. — Eccles. vii. 1.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. — Matt. v. 4.

Let not your heart be troubled. I will not leave you comfortless. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. — John xiv. 1 18, 27. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world. — John xvi. 33. I am the resurrection and the life. — John xi. 25.

Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. — Rom. xiv. 8.

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them: when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail; because man goeth to his long home and the mourners go about the streets: or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it. — Eccles. xiii. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7.

As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. — 1 Cor. xv. 22.

I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. — Rom. viii. 38, 39.

For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. — 2 Cor. v. 1.

And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. — Isa. xxx. 10.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away. — 1 Pet. i. 3, 4.

The choral "Cast thy Burdens upon the Lord" was sung.

His Honor the Mayor then introduced the Hon. Charles Sumner, who delivered a Eulogy. At the conclusion, the following hymn, written by Dr. O. W. Holmes, was sung: —

O Thou of soul and sense and breath,
The ever present Giver,
Unto Thy mighty Angel, Death,
All flesh Thou dost deliver;
What most we cherish we resign,
For life and death alike are Thine,
Who reignest Lord forever!

Our hearts lie buried in the dust
With Him, so true and tender,
The patriot's stay, the people's trust,
The shield of the offender;
Yet every murmuring voice is still,
As, bowing to Thy sovereign will,
Our best loved we surrender.

Dear Lord, with pitying eye behold
  This martyr generation,
Which Thou, through trials manifold,
  Art shewing Thy salvation!
O let the blood by murder spilt
Wash out Thy stricken children's guilt,
  And sanctify our nation!

Be thou Thy orphaned Israel's friend,
  Forsake Thy people never,
In One our broken Many blend,
  That none again may sever!
Hear us, O Father, while we raise
With trembling lips our song of praise,
  And bless Thy name forever!

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. L. A. Grimes.

MR. SUMNER'S EULOGY.

CITY OF BOSTON.

In Common Council, June 2, 1865.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to Hon. Charles Sumner, for the highly eloquent, and truly patriotic Eulogy, delivered by him, on the Life and Services of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States; — and that he be requested to furnish a copy of said Eulogy for publication.

Sent up for concurrence.

WM. B. FOWLE, *President*.

In Board of Aldermen, June 6, 1865.

Concurred.

G. W. MESSINGER, *Chairman*.

Approved June 7, 1865.

F. W. LINCOLN, Jr. *Mayor*.

EULOGY.

In the universe of God there are no accidents. From the fall of a sparrow to the fall of an empire, or the sweep of a planet, all is according to Divine Providence, whose laws are everlasting. It was no accident which gave to his country the patriot whom we now honor. It was no accident which snatched this patriot, so suddenly and so cruelly, from his sublime duties. Death is as little of an accident as life. Perhaps never in history has this Providence been more conspicuous than in that recent procession of events, where the final triumph was wrapt in the gloom of tragedy. It will be our duty to catch the moral of this stupendous drama.

For the second time in our annals, the country has been summoned by the President to unite, on an appointed day, in commemorating the life and character of the dead. The first was on the death of GEORGE WASHINGTON, when, as now, a day was set apart for simultaneous eulogy throughout the land, and cities, towns, and villages all vied in tribute. More than half a century has passed since this early observance in memory of the

Father of his country, and now it is repeated in memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Thus are Washington and Lincoln associated in the grandeur of their obsequies. But this association is not accidental. It is from the nature of things, and because the part which Lincoln was called to perform resembled in character the part which was performed by Washington. The work left undone by Washington was continued by Lincoln. Kindred in service, kindred in patriotism, each was naturally surrounded at death by kindred homage. One sleeps in the East, and the other sleeps in the West; and thus, in death, as in life, one is the complement of the other.

The two might be compared after the manner of Plutarch; but it will be enough for the present if we glance only at certain points of resemblance and of contrast, so as to recall the part which each performed.

Each was at the head of the Republic during a period of surpassing trial; and each thought only of the public good, simply, purely, constantly, so that single-hearted devotion to country will always find a synonyme in their names. Each was the national chief during a time of successful war. Each was the representative of his country at a great epoch of history. But here, perhaps, the resemblance ends and the contrast begins. Unlike in origin, conversation, and character, they were unlike also in the *ideas* which they served, except as each was the servant of his country. The war conducted by Washington was unlike the war conducted by Lincoln — as the peace which crowned the arms of the one was

unlike the peace which began to smile upon the other. The two wars did not differ in the scale of operations, and in the tramp of mustered hosts, more than in the ideas involved. The first was for National Independence; the second was to make the Republic one and indivisible, on the indestructible foundations of Liberty and Equality. The first only cut the connection with the mother country, and opened the way to the duties and advantages of Popular Government. *The second will have failed unless it performs all the original promises of that Declaration which our fathers took upon their lips when they became a Nation.* In the relation of cause and effect the first was the natural precursor and herald of the second. National Independence was the first epoch in our history, and such was its importance that Lafayette boasted to the First Consul of France that, though its battles were but skirmishes, they decided the fate of the world.

The Declaration of our fathers, which was entitled simply "the unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," is known familiarly as the Declaration of Independence, because the remarkable words with which it concludes made independence the absorbing idea, to which all else was tributary. Thus did the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, solemnly publish and declare "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved . . .

and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance in the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." To sustain this mutual pledge Washington drew his sword, and led the national armies, until at last, by the Treaty of Peace in 1783, Independence was acknowledged.

Had the Declaration been confined to this pledge, it would have been less important than it was. Much as it might have been to us, it would have been less of a warning and trumpet-note to the world. There were two other pledges which it made. One was proclaimed in the designation "United States of America," which it adopted as the national name, and the other was proclaimed in those great words, fit for the baptismal vows of a Republic: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; *that all men are created equal;* that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.*" By the sword of Washington Independence was secured; but the Unity of the Republic and the principles of the Declaration were left exposed to question. From that day to this, through various chances, they have been questioned, and openly dishonored, — until at last the Republic was constrained to take up arms in their defence. And yet, since enmity to the Union proceeded entirely from enmity to the great ideas of the Declaration, history must record that the question of the Union itself was

absorbed in the grander conflict to uphold those primal truths which our fathers had solemnly proclaimed.

Such are these two great wars in which these two chiefs bore each his part. Washington fought for National Independence and triumphed, — making his country an example to mankind. Lincoln drew his reluctant sword to save those great ideas, essential to the life and character of the Republic, which unhappily the sword of Washington had failed to put beyond the reach of assault.

It was by no accident that these two great men became the representatives of their country at these two different epochs, so alike in peril, and yet so unlike in the principles involved. Washington was the natural representative of National Independence. He might also have represented national Unity, had this principle been challenged to bloody battle during his life; for nothing was nearer his heart than the consolidation of our Union, which, in his letter to Congress transmitting the Constitution, he declared to be "the greatest interest of every true American." Then again, in a remarkable letter to John Jay, he plainly said that he did not conceive "we can exist long as a nation without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extends over the several States." But another person was needed of different birth and simpler life to represent the ideas which were now assailed.

Washington was of a family which may be traced in English heraldry. Some of his ancestors sleep in close companionship with the noble name of Spencer. By

inheritance and marriage he was rich in lands, and, let it be said in respectful sorrow, rich also in slaves, so far as slaves breed riches rather than curses. At the age of fourteen he refused a commission as a midshipman in the British Navy. At the age of nineteen he was military inspector with the rank of major. At the age of twenty-one he was selected by the British Governor of Virginia as Commissioner to the French posts. At the age of twenty-two he was colonel of a regiment, and was thanked by the House of Burgesses in Virginia. Early in life he became an observer of form and ceremony. Always strictly just, according to prevailing principles, and ordering at his death the emancipation of his slaves, he was a general and a statesman rather than a philanthropist; nor did he seem to be inspired, beyond the duties of patriotism, to any active sympathy with Human Rights. In the ample record of what he wrote or said there is no word of adhesion to the great ideas of the Declaration. Such an origin — such an early life — such opportunities — such a condition — such a character, were all in contrast with the origin, the early life, the opportunities, the condition, and the character of him whom we commemorate to-day.

Abraham Lincoln was born, and until he became President, always lived in a part of the country which at the period of the Declaration of Independence was a savage wilderness. Strange but happy Providence, that a voice from that savage wilderness, now fertile in men, was inspired to uphold the pledges and promises of the Declaration! The Unity of the Republic on the inde-

structible foundation of Liberty and Equality was vindicated by the citizen of a community, which had no existence when the Republic was formed.

His family may be traced to a Quaker stock in Pennsylvania, but it removed first to Virginia, and then, as early as 1780, to the wilds of Kentucky, which at that time was only an outlying territory belonging to Virginia. His grandfather and father both lived in peril from the Indians, and the former perished by their hands. The future President was born in a log-house. His mother could read but not write. His father could do neither, except so far as to sign his name rudely, like a noble of Charlemagne. Trial, privation, and labor entered into his early life. Only at seven years of age was he able to go to school for a very brief period, carrying with him Dilworth's Spelling Book, which was one of the three volumes that formed the family library. Shortly afterwards his father turned his back upon that Slavery which disfigured Kentucky, and placing his poor effects on a raft which his son had helped him construct, set his face towards Indiana, which was guarded against Slavery by the famous Ordinance for the Northwestern Territory. In this painful journey the son, who was only eight years old, bore his share of the burdens. On reaching the chosen home in a land of Liberty, the son aided the father in building the cabin, composed of logs fastened together by notches, and filled in with mud, where for twelve years afterwards he grew in character and in knowledge, as in stature, learning to write as well as to read, and especially enjoying Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress,

Æsop's Fables, Weems's Life of Washington, and the Life of Clay. At the age of twelve he lost his mother. At the age of nineteen he became a hired hand at $10 a month on a flatboat, laden with stores for the plantations on the Mississippi, and in this way he floated down that lordly river to New Orleans, little dreaming that only a few years later, iron-clad navies would float on that same lordly river at his command. Here also he was a learner. From the slaves which he saw on the banks he took an early lesson of Liberty, which had new charms in contrast with Slavery.

In 1830, the father removed to Illinois, transporting his effects in wagons drawn by oxen, and the future President, who was then twenty-one years of age, drove one of the teams. Another cabin was built in primitive rudeness, and the future President split the rails for the fence to enclose the lot. These rails have become classical in our history, and the name of rail-splitter has been more than the degree of a college. Not that the splitter of rails is especially meritorious, but because the people are proud to trace aspiring talent to humble beginnings, and because they found in this tribute a new opportunity of vindicating the dignity of free labor, and of repelling the insolent pretensions of Slavery.

His youth was now spent, and at the age of twenty-one, he left his father's house to begin the world for himself. A small bundle, a laughing face, and an honest heart; these were his simple possessions, together with that unconscious character and intelligence, which his country afterwards learned to prize. In the long history of "worth de-

pressed," there is no instance of such a contrast between the depression and the triumph — unless, perhaps, his successor as President may share with him this distinction. No Academy, no University, no Alma Mater of science or learning had nourished him. No government had taken him by the hand and given to him the gift of opportunity. No inheritance of land or money had fallen to him. No friend stood by his side. He was alone in poverty; and yet not all alone. There was God above, who watches all, and does not desert the lowly. Plain in person, life, and manners, and knowing nothing of form or ceremony, with a village schoolmaster for six months as his only teacher, he had grown up in companionship with the people, with nature, with trees, with the fruitful corn, and with the stars. While yet a child, his father had borne him away from a soil wasted by Slavery, and he was now the citizen of a Free State, where Free Labor had been placed under the safeguard of irreversible compact and fundamental law. And thus he took leave of youth, happy at least that he could go forth under the day-star of Liberty.

The hardships of youth were still continued in early manhood. He labored as a hired hand on a farm, and then a second time he measured the winding Mississippi to New Orleans in a flatboat. At the call of the Governor of Illinois for troops against the Indian Chief Black Hawk, he sprang forward with patriotic ardor, and was the first to enlist at the recruiting station in his neighborhood. The choice of his associates made him captain. After the war he became a surveyor, and down to his death retained a practical and scientific knowledge of this

business. In 1834, he was elected to the Legislature of Illinois, and two years later he was admitted to the practice of the law. He was now twenty-seven years old, and, under the benignant influence of Republican Institutions, he had already entered upon the double career of a lawyer and a legislator, with the gates of the mysterious Future slowly opening before him.

How well he served in these two characters I pause not to tell. It is enough if I exhibit the stages of his advance, that you may understand how he became the representative of his country at so grand a moment of history. It is needless to say that his opportunities of study as a lawyer must have been small, but he was industrious in each individual case, and thus daily added to his stores of professional experience. Faithful in all things, most conscientious in his conduct at the bar, so that he could not be unfair to the other side, and admirably sensitive to the behests of justice, so that he could not argue on the wrong side, he acquired a name for honesty, which, beginning with the community in which he lived, became proverbial throughout his State; while his genial, mirthful, overflowing nature, apt at anecdote and story, made him a favorite companion where he was personally known. His opinions on public questions were early fixed, under the example and teachings of Henry Clay, and he never departed from them, though constantly tempted, or pressed by local majorities, speaking in the name of a false democracy. It is interesting to know that thus early he espoused those two ideas, which entered so

largely into the terrible responsibilities of his latter years, — I mean the Unity of the Republic, and the supreme value of Liberty. He did not believe that a State had a right, at its own mad will, to break up this Union. As a reader of congressional speeches, and a student of what was said by the political teachers of that day, he was no stranger to those marvellous efforts of Daniel Webster, when in reply to the treasonable pretensions of nullification, that great orator of Massachusetts asserted the indestructibility of the Union, and the folly of those who would assail it. On the subject of Slavery, he drew from the experience of his own family and the warnings of his own conscience. It was natural, therefore, that one of his earliest acts in the legislature of Illinois should be a protest in the name of Liberty.

At a later day, he became a representative in Congress for a single term, beginning in December 1847, being the only Whig representative from Illinois. His speeches during this brief period have many of the characteristics of his later productions. They are argumentative, logical, and spirited, with that quaint humor and sinewy sententiousness which belonged to his nature. His votes were constant against Slavery. For the Wilmot Proviso, he had voted, according to his own statement, "in one way and another about forty times." His vote is recorded against the pretence that slaves were property under the constitution. From Congress he again passed to his profession. The day was at hand, when all his powers, enlarged by experience and quickened to their highest activity, would

be needed to repel that haughty domination which was already undermining the Republic.

The first field of conflict was in his own State, with no less an antagonist than Stephen A. Douglas, unhappily at that time in alliance with the Slave Power. The too famous Kansas and Nebraska Bill, introduced by him into the Senate, assumed to set aside the venerable safeguard of freedom in the territory west of Missouri, under the pretence of allowing the inhabitants "to vote Slavery up or to vote it down" according to their pleasure, and this barbarous privilege was called by the fancy name of Popular Sovereignty. The future President did not hesitate to denounce this most baleful measure in a series of popular addresses, where truth, sentiment, humor, and argument all were blended. As the conflict continued, he was brought forward as a candidate for the Senate against its able author. The debate that ensued is one of the most memorable in our political history, whether we consider the principles involved, or the way in which it was conducted.

It commenced with a close, well-woven speech from the Republican champion, in which he used words which showed his insight into the actual condition of things, as follows: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, — I do not expect the house to fall, — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other." Only a few days before his death, when I asked him if at the time

he had any doubt about this remark, he replied, "Not in the least. It was clearly true, and time has justified me." With like plainness he exposed the Douglas pretence of Popular Sovereignty as meaning simply "that if any one man shall choose to enslave *another*, no *third* man shall be allowed to object," and he announced his belief in "the existence of a conspiracy to perpetuate and nationalize Slavery," of which the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and the Dred Scott decision were essential parts. Such was the character of this debate at the beginning, and so it continued on the lips of our champion to the end.

But the inevitable topic to which he returned with the most frequency, and to which he clung with all the grasp of his soul, was the *practical character of the Declaration of Independence in announcing the Liberty and Equality of all men.* These were no idle words, but substantial truth, binding on the conscience of mankind. I know not if this grand pertinacity has been noticed before; but I deem it my duty to say, that to my mind it is by far the most important incident of that controversy, and perhaps the most interesting in the biography of the speaker. Nothing previous to his nomination for the Presidency is comparable to it. Plainly his whole subsequent career took its impulse and character from that championship. And here too is our first debt of gratitude. The words which he then uttered live after him, and nobody can hear how he then battled without feeling a new motive to fidelity in the cause of Human Rights.

As early as 1854, in a speech at Peoria, against the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, after denouncing Slavery as a "monstrous injustice," which enables the enemies of free institutions to taunt us as hypocrites, and causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, he complains especially that "it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves *into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticising the Declaration of Independence.*" Thus, according to him, was criticism of the Declaration of Independence the climax of infidelity as a citizen.

Mr. Douglas opened the debate on his side July 9, 1858, at Chicago, by a speech, in which he said, among other things, "I am opposed to negro equality. I repeat, that this Nation is a white people. I am opposed to taking any step that recognizes the negro man or the Indian as the equal of the white man. I am opposed to giving him a voice in the administration of the Government." Thus was the case stated on the side of Slavery.

To this speech the Republican candidate replied the next evening, and he did not forget his championship of the Declaration. After quoting the words "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," he proceeds to say: —

"That is the electric cord in the Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic and liberty-loving men together as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world. . . . I should like to know if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and

making exceptions, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean the negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the Statute-book in which we find it and tear it out! Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out [cries of "no, no"]; *let us stick to it then; let us stand firmly by it then.*"

Noble words! worthy of perpetual memory. And he finished his speech on this occasion by saying: —

"I leave you, hoping that the lamp of Liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal."

He has left us now, and for the last time, and I catch the closing benediction of that speech, already sounding through the ages, like a choral harmony.

The debate continued from place to place in Illinois. At Bloomington, July 16, 1858, Mr. Douglas again denied that colored persons could be citizens, and then broke forth upon the champion of the Declaration.

"I will not quarrel with Mr. Lincoln for his views on that subject. I have no doubt he is conscientious in them. I have not the slightest idea but that he conscientiously believes that a negro ought to enjoy and exercise all the rights and privileges given to white men; but I do not agree with him. *I believe that this Government of ours was founded on the white basis.* I believe that it was established by white men. I do not believe that it was the design of the signers of the Declaration of Independence or the framers of the Constitution to include negroes, Indians, or other inferior races, with white men as citizens. . . . *He wants them to vote. I am opposed to it. If they had a vote, I reckon they would all vote for him in preference to me, entertaining the views I do!*"

Then again, in another speech at Springfield, the next day, Mr. Douglas repeated his denial that the colored man was embraced by the Declaration, and thus argued for the exclusion: —

"Remember that at the time the Declaration was put forth, every one of the thirteen colonies were slaveholding colonies, — every man who signed that Declaration represented slaveholding constitutents. Did these signers mean by that act to charge themselves and all their constitutents with having violated the law of God in holding the negro in an inferior condition to the white man? And yet, if they included negroes in that term, they were bound, as conscientious men, that day and that hour, not only to have abolished Slavery throughout the land, *but to have conferred political rights and privileges on the negro and elevated him to an equality with the white man.* . . . The Declaration of Independence only included the white people of the United States."

On the same evening, at Springfield, the champion of the Declaration, while admitting that negroes are not "our equals in color," thus again spoke for the comprehensive humanity of the Declaration: —

"*I adhere to the Declaration. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes.* Let us have it decided, whether the Declaration of Independence, in this blessed year of 1858, shall be thus amended. In his construction of the Declaration last year, he said it only meant that Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then, when I pointed out to him that by that rule he excludes the Germans, the Irish, the Portuguese, and all the other people who have come among us since the Revolution, he reconstructs his con-

struction. In his last speech he tells us it meant Europeans. I press him a little further, and ask him if it meant to include the Russians in Asia! Or does he mean to exclude that vast population from the principles of the Declaration? I expect ere-long he will introduce another amendment to his definition. He is not at all particular. *It may draw white men down, but it must not lift negroes up.*"

Words like these must be gratefully remembered. They make the Declaration, what the fathers intended it, no mean proclamation of oligarchic egotism, but a charter and freehold for all mankind.

Again, at Ottawa, August 21, 1858, Mr. Douglas, still wishing to exclude the colored men from the Declaration, exclaimed as follows: —

"I believe this Government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever."

The Republican champion again took up the strain, as follows: —

"Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our independence, and muzzle the cannon, which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, can they perpetuate Slavery in this country! To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community, when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence."

At Jonesboro, September 15, 1858, Mr. Douglas made another effort against the rights of the colored race, in the course of which he said: —

"I am aware that all the abolition lecturers that you find travelling through the country, are in the habit of reading the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Mr. Lincoln is very much in the habit of following in the track of Lovejoy in this particular, by reading that part of the Declaration of Independence, to prove that the negro was endowed by the Almighty with the inalienable right of equality with white men. Now, I say to you, my fellow-citizens, that, in my opinion, the signers of the Declaration had no reference to the negro whatever, when they declared all men to be created equal."

At Galesborough, October 7, 1858, his opponent thus again upheld the Declaration: —

"The Judge has alluded to the Declaration of Independence, and insisted that negroes are not included in that Declaration; and that it is a slander upon the framers of that instrument, to suppose that negroes were meant therein; and he asks you, is it possible to believe that Mr. Jefferson, who penned the immortal paper, could have supposed himself applying the language of that instrument to the negro race, and yet held a portion of that race in slavery? Would he not at once have freed them? I only have to remark upon this part of the Judge's speech, that I believe the entire record of the world, from the date of the Declaration of Independence up to within three years ago, may be searched in vain for one single affirmation from one single man, that the

negro was not included in the Declaration. And I will remind Judge Douglas and this audience, that while Mr. Jefferson was the owner of slaves, as undoubtedly he was, in speaking upon this very subject, he used the strong language, that "he trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just."

And at Alton, October 15, 1858, he renewed this same testimony: —

"I assert that Judge Douglas and all his friends may search the whole record of the country, and it will be a matter of great astonishment to me if they shall be able to find that one human being three years ago had ever uttered the astounding sentiment that the term "all men" in the Declaration did not include the negro. Do not let me be misunderstood. I know that more than three years ago, there were men who, finding this assertion constantly in the way of their schemes to bring about the ascendency and perpetuation of Slavery, denied the truth of it. I know that Mr. Calhoun, and all the politicians of his school, denied the truth of the Declaration, ending at last in that shameful declaration of Petit of Indiana, upon the floor of the United States Senate, that the Declaration was, in that respect, a "self-evident lie" rather than a self-evident truth. But I say, with a perfect knowledge of all this hawking at the Declaration without directly attacking it, that three years ago there never had lived a man who had ventured to assail it in *the sneaking way of pretending to believe it, and then asserting that it did not include the negro.*"

Lifted by the cause in which he was engaged, he appealed to his fellow-countrymen in tones of pathetic eloquence: —

"Think nothing of me; take no thought for the political fate

of any man whatsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, *but you may take me and put me to death.* While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do claim to be actuated in this contest by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry, insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing. I am nothing. Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity — the Declaration of Independence.*"

Thus, at that early day, before war had overshadowed the land, was he ready for the sacrifice. "Take me and put me to death," said he, "but do not destroy that immortal emblem of humanity — the Declaration of Independence." He has been put to death by the enemies of the Declaration. But though dead, he will continue to guard that great title-deed of the human race.

The debate ended. An immense vote was cast. There were 126,084 votes for the republican candidates, 121,940 for the Douglas candidates, and 5,091 for the Lecompton candidates, another class of democrats; but the supporters of Mr. Douglas had a majority of eight on joint ballot in the legislature, and he was reëlected to the Senate.

Again returned to his profession, our champion still cherished the Declaration. In answer to the Republicans of Boston, who had invited him to unite with them in the celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, he wrote a letter, under date of April, 1859, which is a gem in political literature, where he again asserted the supremacy of those truths for which he

had battled so well. In him the West thus spoke to the East, pleading for Human Rights, as declared by our Fathers: —

"But soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation.

"One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true: but, nevertheless, he would fail with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them 'glittering generalities.' Another bluntly styles them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply only to 'superior races.'

"These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect — the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the sappers and miners of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us.

"This is a world of compensation; and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

"All honor to Jefferson — the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document *an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times*, and so to embalm it there, that to-day, and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression!"

In the winter of next year the Western champion appeared at New York; and, in a remarkable address at the Cooper Institute, February 27, 1860, vindicated the policy of the Fathers of the Republic and the principles of the Republican party. After showing with curious skill and minuteness the original understanding on the power of Congress over Slavery in the territories, he demonstrated that the Republican party was not in any just sense sectional; and he proceeded to expose the perils from the pretensions of slave-masters, who, not content with requiring that "we must arrest and return their slaves with greedy pleasure," insisted that the Constitution must be so interpreted as to uphold the idea of property in man. The whole address was in a subdued and argumentative style, while each sentence was like a driven nail, with a concluding rally that was a bugle-call to the lovers of right. "Let us have faith," said he, "that *right makes might*, and in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

A few months later this champion of the right, who would not see the colored man shut out from the promises of the Declaration of Independence, and who insisted upon the exclusion of Slavery from the territories, after summoning his countrymen to dare to do their duty, was nominated by a great political party as their candidate for President of the United States. Local considerations, securing to him the support of certain States beyond any other candidate, exercised a final influence in determining his selection; but it is easy to see how, from

position, character, and origin, he was at that moment especially the representative of his country. The Unity of the Republic was menaced. He was from that vast controlling Northwest, which would never renounce its communications with the sea, whether by the Mississippi or by eastern avenues. The birthday Declaration of the Republic was dishonored, in the denial of its primal truths. He had already become known as a volunteer in its defence. Republican Institutions were in jeopardy. He was the child of humble life, through whom Republican Institutions would stand confest. These things which are so obvious now, in the light of history, were less apparent then in the turmoil of party. But that Providence, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, which had found out Washington to conduct his country through the war of Independence, now found out Lincoln to wage the new battle for the Unity of the Republic on the foundations of Human Rights.

The election took place. Of the popular vote, Abraham Lincoln received 1,857,610, represented by 180 electoral ballots; Stephen A. Douglas received 1,365,976, represented by 12 electoral ballots; John C. Breckenridge received 847,953, represented by 72 electoral ballots; and John Bell received 590,631, represented by 39 electoral ballots. By this vote Abraham Lincoln became President. The triumph at the ballot-box was flashed by the telegraph over the whole country, from north to south, from east to west; but it was answered by defiance from the slavemasters, speaking in the name of State Rights and for the sake of Slavery. The declared

will of the American people, registered at the ballot-box, was set at naught. The conspiracy of years blazed into day. The National Government, which Alexander H. Stephens characterized as "the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, the most aspiring in its principles to elevate the race of man that the sun of heaven ever shone upon;" and which Jefferson Davis himself pronounced "the best government that has ever been instituted by man," — that National Government, whose portrait is thus drawn by its enemies, was defied. South Carolina was the first in crime, and before the elected champion had turned his face from the beautiful prairies of the West to enter upon his dangerous duties, State after State had undertaken to abandon its place in the Union, — senator after senator had dropped from his seat, — fort after fort had been lost, — and the mutterings of war had begun to fill the air, while the actual President, besotted by Slavery, tranquilly witnessed the gigantic treason, as he sat at ease in the Executive Mansion — and did nothing.

It was time for another to come upon the scene. You do not forget how the new President left his village home, never to return except under the escort of death. In words of farewell to the friendly multitude who surrounded him, he dedicated himself to his country and solemnly invoked the aid of Divine Providence. "I know not," he said, "how soon I shall see you again"; and then, with a prophetic voice he announced that a

duty devolved upon him "greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington," and he asked his friends to pray that he might receive that Divine assistance, without which he could not succeed, but with which success was certain. Others have gone forth to power and fame with gladness and with song. He went forth prayerfully as to a sacrifice.

You do not forget how at each resting-place on the road he renewed his vows, and when at Philadelphia, visiting Independence Hall, his soul broke forth in homage to the vital truths which were there declared. Of all his utterances on the way to the national capital, after his farewell to his neighbors, there is nothing so prophetic as these unpremeditated words: —

"All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated, and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence." . . . . .

"Now, my friends, can this country be saved on this basis? If it can, I shall consider myself one of the happiest men in the world if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say *I would rather be assassinated on the spot*."

And then, after adding that he had not expected to say a word, he repeated again the consecration of his life, exclaiming, "I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, *if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by*."

He was about to raise the national banner over the old hall. But before this service, he took up the strain which he loved so well, saying: —

"It is on such an occasion as this that we can reason together, *reaffirm our devotion to the country and the principles of the Declaration of Independence.*"

Thus constantly did he bear his testimony. Surely this fidelity will be counted ever after among his chief glories. I know no instance in history more touching, especially when we consider that his support of those principles caused his sacrifice. "Though every tile were a devil, yet will I enter Worms," said Luther. Our reformer was less defiant, but hardly less determined. Three times he had already announced, that, for the great truths of the Declaration, he was willing to die; three times he had offered himself on that altar; three times he had vowed himself to this martyrdom.

Slavery was already pursuing his life. An attempt was made to throw from the track a train in which he was journeying, and a hand grenade was found secreted in another. Baltimore, which lay directly on his way, was the seat of a murderous plot against him. Avoiding the conspirators of Slavery, he came from Philadelphia to Washington unexpectedly in the night; and thus, for the moment, cheating assassination of its victim, he entered the National capital.

From this time forward his career broadens into the history of his country and of the age. You all know it

by heart. Therefore a few glimpses will be enough, that I may exhibit its moral rather than its story.

The Inaugural Address — the formation of his cabinet — his earliest acts — his daily conversation — all attested the spirit of moderation with which he approached his perilous position. At the same time he declared openly, that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual; that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; that acts of violence within any State are insurrectionary or revolutionary; and that, to the extent of his ability, he should take care, according to the express injunction of the Constitution, that the laws of the Union should be faithfully executed in all the States. But, while thus positive in upholding the Unity of the Republic, he was determined that on his part there should be no act of offence; that there should be no bloodshed or violence unless forced upon the country; that it was his duty to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, but beyond what was necessary for this object, there would be no exercise of force, and the people everywhere would be left in that perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection.

But the madness of Slavery knew no bounds. It had been determined from the beginning that the Union should be broken, and no moderation could change this wicked purpose. A pretended power was organized, in the form

of a Confederacy, with Slavery as the declared corner-stone. You know what ensued. Fort Sumter was attacked, and, after a fiery storm of shot and shell for thirty-three hours, the national flag fell. This was 14th April, 1861. War had begun.

War is always a scourge, and it never can be regarded without sadness. It is one of the mysteries of Providence, that it is still allowed to vex mankind. There were few who deprecated it more than the President. From his Quaker blood and from reflection, he was essentially a man of peace. In one of his speeches during his short service in Congress, he arraigned military glory as "that rainbow that rises in showers of blood — that serpent eye that charms but to destroy;" and now that he was charged with the terrible responsibility of government, he was none the less earnest for peace. He was not willing to see his beloved country torn by bloody battle, and fellow-citizens striking at each other. But after the criminal assault on Fort Sumter, there was no alternative. The Republic was in danger, and every man from President to citizen was summoned to the defence. Nor was this all. An attempt was made to invest Slavery with national Independence, and the President, who disliked both slavery and war, described, perhaps, his own condition, when, in a letter to one of the Society of Friends, he said, "Your people have had and are having very great trials on principles and faith. Opposed to both war and oppression, *they can only practically oppose oppression by war.*" In these few words the whole case is stated; inasmuch as, whatever might be the pre-

tension of State Rights, the war was made necessary to put down the hideous ambition of Slavery.

The slave-masters simply put in execution a conspiracy long contrived, for which they had already prepared the way: first, by teaching that any State might, at its own will, break from the Union, and, secondly, by teaching that colored persons were so far inferior as not to be embraced in the promises of the Declaration of Independence, but were justly held as slaves. The Mephistopheles of Slavery, Mr. Calhoun, had, for years, inculcated both these pretensions. But the pretension of State Rights was merely a cover for Slavery.

Therefore, when it was determined that the slave-masters should be encountered, two things were resolved: first, that this Republic was one and indivisible; and, secondly, that no hideous Power, with Slavery blazoned on its front, should be created on our soil. Here was an affirmation and a denial; first, an *affirmation* of the Unity of the Republic; and, secondly, a *denial* of any independent foothold to rebel Slavery. In accepting the challenge at Fort Sumter, the President became the voice of the country, which, with a stern determination, insisted that the Rebellion should be put down by war. The people were in earnest, and would not brook hesitation; and they were right. If ever in history war was necessary, — if ever in history war was holy, — it was the war then and there begun for the overthrow of rebel Slavery.

From the first cannon shot, it was plain that the Rebellion was nothing but Slavery in arms; but such was the

power of Slavery, even in the Free States, that months elapsed before this giant criminal was directly attacked. Generals in the field were tender with regard to it, as if it were a church, or a work of the fine arts. It was only under the teaching of disaster that the country was aroused. The first step was taken in Congress after the defeat at Bull Run. But still the President hesitated. Disaster thickened and graves opened, until at last the country saw that only by justice could we hope for Divine favor, and the President, who leaned so closely upon the popular heart, pronounced that great word, by which all slaves in the Rebel States were set free. Let it be named forever to his glory, that he grasped the thunderbolt, even though tardily, under which the Rebellion staggered to its fall; that, following up the blow, he enlisted colored citizens as soldiers in the national army; and, that he declared his final purpose never to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor to return into Slavery any person free by the terms of that instrument, or by any of the acts of Congress, saying, loftily, "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another and not I must be the instrument to perform it."

It was sometimes said that the Proclamation was of doubtful constitutionality. If this criticism did not proceed from sympathy with Slavery, it evidently proceeded from the prevailing superstition with regard to this idol. Future jurists will read with astonishment that such a flagrant wrong could be considered at any time as having

any rights which a court was bound to respect, and especially that rebels in arms could be considered as having any title to the services of people whose allegiance was primarily due to the United States. But, turning from these conclusions, it seems to be obvious, that Slavery, which stood exclusively on local law without any support in natural law, must have fallen with the local government, both legally and constitutionally; *legally*, inasmuch as it ceased to have any valid legal support; and *constitutionally*, inasmuch as it came at once within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Constitution, where Liberty is the prevailing law. The President did not act upon these principles, but, speaking with the voice of authority, he said "Let the slaves be free." What Court and Congress hesitated to declare, he proclaimed, and thus enrolled himself among the world's Emancipators.

Passing from the Proclamation of Emancipation, which places its author so far above human approach that human envy cannot reach him, I carry you for one moment to our Foreign Relations. The convulsion here was felt in the most distant places — as at the great earthquake of Lisbon, when that capital seemed about to be submerged, there was a commotion of the waters in our Northern Lakes. All Europe was stirred. There, too, was the Slavery Question in another form. England, in an unhappy moment, under an ill-considered plea of "necessity" — which Milton tells us was the plea by which the fiend "excused a devilish deed" — accorded to rebel Slavery the rights of belligerency on the ocean, and then

proceeded to open her ports, to surrender her workshops, and to let loose her merchant ships in aid of this wickedness; — forgetting all the relations of alliance and amity with the United States — forgetting all the logic of English history — forgetting all the distinctions of right and wrong — and forgetting also that a new Power founded on Slavery was a moral monster with which a just nation could have nothing to do. To appreciate the character of this concession, we must appreciate clearly the whole vast unprecedented crime of the Rebellion, taking its complexion from Slavery. Undoubtedly it was criminal to assail the Unity of this Republic, and thus destroy its peace and impair its example in the world; but the attempt to build a new Power on Slavery as a corner-stone, and with no other declared object of separate existence, was more than criminal, or rather it was a crime of that untold, unspeakable guilt, which no language can depict and which no judgment can be too swift to condemn. The associates in this terrible apostasy might rebuke each other in the words of an old dramatist: —

> Thou must do, then,
> What no malevolent star will dare to look on,
> It is so wicked; for which men will curse thee
> For being the instrument, and the blest angels
> Forsake me at my need, for being the author;
> For 't is a deed of night, of night, Francisco!
> In which the memory of all good actions
> We can pretend to, shall be buried quick;
> Or, if we be remembered, it shall be
> To fright posterity by an example
> That have outgone all precedents of villains
> That were before us.
>
> [*Massenger. Duke of Milan.* Act I.

To recognize such a Power; — to enter into *semi-alliance* with it; — to invest it with rights; — to open ports to it; — to surrender workshops to it; — to build ships for it; — to drive a busy commerce with it; — all this, or any part of this, is positive and plain complicity with the original guilt, and must be judged as we judge any other complicity with Slavery. To say that it was a *necessity*, is only to repeat the plea which has been made by slave-masters and slave-traders from the earliest moment, when driven to vindicate their crime. But a generous Englishman, who was an ornament of letters, and who has told us in memorable lines "what constitutes a State," has denounced all complicity with Slavery in words which strike directly at this plea of *necessity*. "Let sugar be as dear as it may," said Sir William Jones to the freeholders of Middlesex, "it is better to eat none; to eat honey, if sweetness only be palatable; better to eat aloes, or coloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice, or rob one honest creature of these eternal rights of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him."

England led in the concession of belligerent rights to rebel Slavery. No event of the war has been comparable to this concession in encouragement to this transcendant crime or in prejudice to the United States. It was out of English ports and English workshops that rebel Slavery drew its supplies. It was in English ship-yards that the cruisers of rebel Slavery were built and equipped. It was from English foundries and arsenals that rebel Slavery was armed. And all this was made easy, when her

Majesty's government, under the pretence of an impossible neutrality, lifted rebel Slavery to an equality with the United States. This was the fatal concession which gave to rebel Slavery *belligerent power* on the ocean. The early legend was here verified. King Arthur was without a sword, when suddenly one appeared, thrust out from a lake. "Lo!" said Merlin, the enchanter, "yonder is a sword; it belongeth to the Lady of the Lake; *if she will, thou mayest take it; but if she will not, it will not be in thy power to take it.*" And the Lady of the Lake yielded the sword, so says the legend — even as England has since yielded the sword to rebel Slavery.

The President saw the painful consequences of this concession, and especially that it was a first step towards the acknowledgment of rebel Slavery as an Independent Power. Clearly, if it were proper for a Foreign Power to acknowledge Belligerency, it might, at a later stage, be proper to acknowledge Independence; and any objection vital to Independence, would, if applicable, be equally vital to Belligerency. Solemn resolutions, by Congress, on this subject were communicated to Foreign Powers; but the unanswerable argument against any possible recognition of a new Power founded on Slavery — whether as Independent or as Belligerent — was stated by the President, in a paper which I now hold in my hand, and which has never before seen the light. It is a copy of a resolution drawn by himself, which he gave to me, in his own autograph, for transmission to one of our valued friends abroad, as an expression of his opinion

on the great question involved, and a guide to public duty. It is in these words: —

"*Whereas*, while *heretofore* States and Nations have tolerated Slavery, *recently*, for the first [time] in the world, an attempt has been made to construct a new nation upon the basis of Human Slavery, and with the primary and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate the same, therefore

"*Resolved*, that no such embryo State should ever be recognized by, or admitted into, the family of Christian and civilized nations: and that all Christian and civilized men everywhere should, by all lawful means, resist to the utmost such recognition or admission."

You will see how distinctly any recognition of rebel Slavery as an Independent Power is branded, and how "all Christian and civilized men everywhere" are summoned "to resist to the utmost such recognition;" and precisely for the same reason "such Christian and civilized men everywhere" should have resisted to the utmost any recognition of rebel Slavery as a Belligerent Power. Of course, had such a benign spirit entered into the counsels of England when Slavery first took up arms against the Republic, this great historic nation would have shrunk at every hazard from that fatal concession, which was in itself a plain contribution to Slavery, and opened the way to infinite contributions, without which the criminal pretender must have speedily succumbed. There would have been no plea of "necessity." But Divine Providence willed it otherwise. Perhaps it was essential to the full revelation of its boundless capacities, that the Republic should stand forth alone, in sublime

solitude, warring for Human Rights, and thus become an example to mankind.

Meanwhile the war continued with the proverbial vicissitudes of this arbitrament. Battles were fought and lost. Other battles were fought and won. Rebel Slavery stood face to face in deadly conflict with the Declaration of Independence, when the President, with unconscious power, dealt it another blow, second only to the Proclamation of Emancipation. This was at the blood-soaked field of Gettysburg, where the armies of the Republic had encountered the armies of Slavery, and, after a conflict of three days, had driven them back with destructive slaughter — as at that decisive battle of Tours, on which hung the destinies of Christianity in Western Europe, the invading Mahometans, after a conflict of three days, were driven back by Charles Martel. No battle of the present war was more important. Few battles in history can compare with it. A few months later, there was another meeting on that same field. It was of grateful fellow-citizens, gathered from all parts of the Union to dedicate it to the memory of those who had fallen there. Among these were eminent men from our own country and from foreign lands. There too was your classic orator, whose finished address was a model of literary excellence. The President spoke very briefly; but his few words will live as long as time. Since Simonides wrote the epitaph for those who died at Thermopylae, nothing equal to them has ever been breathed over the fallen dead. Thus he

began: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, *conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.*" The Equality of all men, which he had so often vindicated and for which he was willing to die, is thus heralded, and the country is again called to carry it forward, that our duty may not be left undone.

"It is for us the living, rather to be dedicated here to the *unfinished work* which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of Freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

That speech, uttered at the field of Gettysburg, and now sanctified by the martyrdom of its author, is a monumental act. In the modesty of his nature he said: "the world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here." He was mistaken. The world noted at once what he said, and will never cease to remember it. The battle itself was less important than the speech. Ideas are always more than battles.

Among the events which secured to him the assured confidence of the country against all party clamor and prejudice, you cannot place this speech too high. To some who had doubted his earnestness, here was touching proof of their error. Others who had followed him with

indifference, were warmed with grateful sympathy. There were none to criticise.

He was re-elected President; and here was not only a personal triumph, but a triumph of the Republic. For himself personally, it was much to find his administration thus ratified; but for republican ideas it was of incalculable value, that, at such a time, the plume of the soldier had not prevailed. In the midst of war, the people at the ballot-box deliberately selected a civilian. Ye, who doubt the destinies of the Republic — who fear the ambition of a military chief, — or who suspect the popular will — do not forget, that, at this moment, when the voice of battle filled the whole land, the country quietly appointed for its ruler this man of peace.

The Inaugural Address which signalized his entry for a second time upon his great duties, was briefer than any similar address in our history; but it has already gone further, and will live longer, than any other. It was a continuation of the Gettysburg speech, with the same sublimity and gentleness. Its concluding words were like an angelic benediction.

And now there was a surfeit of battle and of victory. Calmly he saw the land of Slavery enveloped by the national forces; saw the great coil bent by his generals about it; saw the mighty *garrote* as it tightened against the neck of the Rebellion. Good news came from all quarters. Everywhere the army was doing its duty. One was conquering in Tennessee; another was marching in Georgia and Carolina; another was watching at

Richmond. The navy echoed back the thunders of the army. Place after place was falling — Savannah, Charleston, Fort Fisher, Wilmington. The President left the National Capital to be near the Lieutenant-General. Then came the capture of Petersburg and Richmond, with the flight of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet. Without pomp or military escort, the President entered the Capital of the Rebellion and walked its streets, from which Slavery had fled forever. Then came the surrender of Lee. The surrender of Johnston was at hand. The military power of rebel Slavery had been broken like a Prince Rupert drop, and everywhere within its confines the barbarous government it had set up was tumbling in crash and ruin. The country was in ecstasy. All this he watched without elation, while his soul was brooding on thoughts of peace and clemency. His youthful son, who had been on the staff of the Lieutenant-General, returned on the morning of Friday, 14th April, to resume his interrupted studies. The father was happy in the sound of his footsteps, and felt the augury of peace. On the same day the Lieutenant-General returned. In the intimacy of his family the President said that this day the war was over. In the evening he sought relaxation, and you know the rest. Alas! the war was not over. The minions of Slavery were dogging him with unabated animosity, and that night he became a martyr.

The country rose at once in an agony of grief, and strong men everywhere wept. City, town, and village were darkened by the obsequies, as they swept by with more than "sceptred pall." Every street was draped with the ensigns of woe. He had become, as it were,

the inmate of every house, and the families of the land were in mourning. Not only in the Executive mansion, but in uncounted homes, was his vacant chair. Never before was such universal sorrow; and already the voice of lamentation is returning to us from Europe, where candor towards him had begun even before his tragical death. Only a short time ago, he was unknown, except in his own State. Only a short time ago, he had visited New York as a stranger, and was shown about its streets by youthful companions. Five years later, he was borne through these streets with funeral pomp, such as the world never before witnessed. Space and speed were forgotten in the offering of hearts. As the surpassing pageant moved over counties and States, from ocean-side to prairie, on iron highways, at thirty miles an hour, the whole afflicted people bent their uncovered heads.

At the first moment it was hard to comprehend this blow, and many cried in despair. But the rule of God has been too visible of late to allow any doubt of his constant presence. Did not our martyr remind us in his last address, that the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether? And who will say that his death was not a judgment of the Lord? Perhaps it was needed to lift the country to a more perfect justice and to inspire it with a sublimer faith. Perhaps it was sent in mercy to set a sacred, irreversible seal upon the good he had done, and to put Emancipation beyond all mortal question. Perhaps it was the sacrificial consecration of those primal truths, embodied in the birthday Declaration of the Republic, which he had so often vindicated, and for which

he had announced his willingness to die. He is gone, and he has been mourned sincerely. It is only private sorrow that could wish to recall the dead. He is now removed beyond earthly vicissitudes. Life and death are both past He had been happy in life. He was not less happy in death. In death, as in life, he was still under the guardianship of that Divine Providence, which took him early by the hand and led him from obscurity to power and fame. The blow was sudden, but not unprepared for. Only on the Sunday preceding, as he was coming from the front on board the steamer — with a quarto Shakespeare in his hands — he read aloud the well-known words of his favorite Macbeth : —

> Duncan is in his grave ;
> After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.
> Treason has done his worst ; nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
> Can touch him further.

Impressed by their beauty or by some presentiment unuttered, he read them aloud a second time. As the friends who then surrounded him listened to his reading, they little thought how, in a few days, what was said of the murdered Duncan would be said of him. Nothing can touch him further. He is saved from the trials that were gathering about him. He had fought the good fight of Emancipation. He had borne the brunt of war with embattled hosts against him, and had conquered. He had made the name of Republic a triumph and a joy in foreign lands. Now that the strife of blood was ended, it remained to be seen how he could confront

those machinations, which are only a *prolongation of the war*, and more dangerous because more subtle, where recent rebels, with professions of Union on the lips, but still denying the birthday Declaration of the Republic, vainly seek to organize peace on *another Oligarchy of the skin*. From all these trials he was saved. But his testimony lives and will live forever, quickened by the undying echoes of his tomb. Invisible to mortal sight, and now above all human weakness, he is still champion, as in his early conflict, summoning his countrymen *back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence*. Dead, he speaks with more than living voice. But the author of Emancipation cannot die. His immortality on earth has begun. His country and his age are already enshrined in his example, as if he were its great poet gathered to his fathers: —

> Back to the living hath he turned him,
> And all of death has passed away;
> The age that thought him dead and mourned him,
> Itself now lives but in his lay.

If the President were alive, he would protest against any monotony of panegyric. He never exaggerated. He was always cautious in praise, as in censure. In endeavoring to estimate his character, we shall be nearer to him in proportion as we cultivate the same spirit.

In person he was tall and bony, with little resemblance to any historic portrait, unless he might seem in one respect to justify the epithet which was given to an early English monarch. As he stood, his form was angular, with

something of that straightness in its lines which is so peculiar in the figure of Dante by Flaxman. His countenance had more of rugged strength than his person, and while in repose sometimes seemed sad; but it lighted up easily. Perhaps the quality which struck most at first sight was his simplicity of manners and conversation, without form or ceremony of any kind, beyond that among neighbors. His handwriting had the same simplicity. It was as clear as that of Washington, but less florid. Each had been a surveyor, and was perhaps, indebted to this experience. But the son of the Western pioneer was more simple in nature, and the man appeared in the autograph. That integrity which has become a proverb, belonged to the same quality. The most perfect honesty must be the most perfect simplicity. The words by which an ancient Roman was described belong to him: *Vitâ innocentissimus, proposito sanctissimus.* He was naturally humane, inclined to pardon, and never remembering the hard things said against him. He was always good to the poor, and in his dealings with them was full of those "kind little words which are of the same blood as great and holy deeds." Only on the Saturday before his death I saw him shake hands with more than five thousand soldier-patients in the tent hospitals at City Point, and he said afterwards that his arm was not tired. Such a character awakened instinctively the sympathy of the people. They saw his fellow-feeling with them and felt the kinship. With him as President, the idea of Republican Institutions, where no place is too high for the humblest, was perpetually manifest, so that

his simple presence was like a Proclamation of the Equality of all Men.

While social in nature and enjoying the flow of conversation, he was often singularly reticent. Modesty was natural to such a character. As he was without affectation, so he was without pretence or jealousy. No person civil or military can complain that he appropriated to himself any honor that belonged to another. To each and all he anxiously gave the credit that was due. And this same spirit was apparent in smaller things. On one occasion, in a sally of Congressional debate, he said that a fiery slave-master of Georgia, to whom he was replying, "was an eloquent man, and a man of learning; — so far as he could judge of learning, not being learned himself." (*Congress. Globe, Appendix, 1st session, 30th Congress*, p. 1042.)

His humor has become a proverb. He insisted sometimes that he had no invention, but only a memory. He did not forget the good things that he heard, and was never without a familiar story to illustrate his meaning. When he spoke, the recent West seemed to vie with the ancient East in apologue and fable. His ideas moved, as the beasts entered Noah's ark, in pairs. At times his illustrations had a homely felicity, and with him they seemed to be not less important than the argument, which he always enforced with a certain intensity of manner and voice. But this same humor was often displayed where there was no story, and with a point that might remind you of Franklin. I know not how the indifference, which many persons showed with regard to

Slavery, could be exposed more effectively than when he said of a political antagonist, who was thus indifferent, "I suppose the institution of Slavery really looks small to him. He is so put up by nature that a lash upon his back would hurt him, but a lash upon anybody else's back does not hurt him." And then, again, there is a bit of reply to Mr. Douglas, which is characteristic not only for its humor, but as showing how little at that time he was looking to the great place which he reached so soon afterwards. "Senator Douglas," said he, "is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargéships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in a wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. . . *On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President.* In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages that the Republicans labor under. *We* have to fight the battle upon principle, and upon principle alone." (*Debate with Douglas*, p. 55.) Here is a glimpse with regard to himself, which is as honorable as it is curious. In a different vein, he said, while President, "the national government must not undertake to run the churches." Here wisdom and humor seem to vie with each other.

He was original in mind as in character. His style

was his own ; formed on no model, and springing directly from himself. While failing often in correctness, it is sometimes unique in beauty and in sentiment. There are passages which will live always. It is no exaggeration to say, that, in weight and pith, suffused in a certain poetical color, they call to mind Bacon's Essays. Such passages make an epoch in State Papers. No Presidential message or speech from a throne ever had any thing of such touching reality. They are harbingers of the great era of Humanity. While uttered from the heights of power, they reveal a simple, unaffected trust in Almighty God, and speak to the people as equal to equal.

He was placed by Providence at the head of his country during an unprecedented crisis, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and men turned for protection to military power. Multitudinous armies were mustered. Great navies were created. Of all these he was the constitutional Commander-in-Chief. As the war proceeded, all his prerogatives enlarged and others sprang into being, until the sway of a Republican President became imperatorial and imperial. But not for one moment did the modesty of his nature desert him. His constant thought was his country, and how to serve it. He saw the certain greatness of the Republic, and was pleased in looking forward to that early day, when, according to assured calculation, its millions of people will count by the hundred ; but he saw in this prodigious sway nothing but the good of man. Personal ambition at the expense of patriotism was as far removed from the simple purity of his nature as poison from

a strawberry. And thus with equal courage in the darkest hours he continued on, heeding as little the warnings of danger as the temptations of power. "It would not do for a President," he said, "to have guards with drawn sabres at his door, as if he fancied he were, or were trying to be, or were assuming to be, an emperor." And in the same homeliness he spoke of his return at morning to his daily duties as "opening shop." Though commissioning officers in multitudes beyond any other person of authentic history, he never learned the mystery of shoulder-straps and of buttons in the military and naval uniforms, except that he had noticed three stars on the shoulders of the Lieutenant-General.

When he became President he was without any considerable experience in public affairs; nor was he much versed in history, whose lessons would have been most valuable. As he became more familiar with the place, his facility evidently increased. He had "learned the ropes," so he said. But his habits of business were irregular, and they were never those of despatch. He did not see at once the just proportions of things, and allowed himself to be too much occupied by details. Even in small things, as well as in great, there was in him a certain resistance to be overcome. There were moments when this delay caused impatience, and important questions seemed to suffer. But when the blow was struck there was nothing but gratitude, and all confessed the singleness with which he had sought the public good. There was also a conviction, that, though slow to reach his conclusion, he was inflexible in main-

taining it. Pompey boasted that by the stamp of his foot he might raise an army. The President might have done the same; but, according to his own words, he "put his foot down," and saved a principle.

In the statement of moral truth and the exposure of wrong, he was at times singularly cogent. There was fire as well as light in his words. Nobody exhibited Slavery in its enormity more clearly. On one occasion he blasted it as "a monstrous injustice"; on another he pictured the slave-master as "wringing his bread from the sweat of other men's faces"; and then, on still another he said, with exquisite simplicity of diction, "If Slavery is not wrong, then nothing is wrong." Would you find any condemnation of Slavery more complete, you must go to the sayings of John Brown or to those famous words of John Wesley, when the great Methodist held it up as "the sum of all villanies." Another mind, more submissive to the truth which he recognized, and less disposed to take counsel of to-morrow, would not have hesitated in carrying forward this judgment to its natural conclusion. Perhaps, his courage to apply truth was not always equal to his clearness in seeing it. Perhaps, the heights that he gained in conscience were not always sustained in conduct. And have we not been told that the soul can gain heights which it cannot keep? Thus while blasting Slavery, he still waited, till many feared that his judgment would "lose the name of action." And even while vindicating the Equality of all Men, against the assaults of one of the ablest debaters of the country, and insisting, with admi-

rable constancy, that colored persons were embraced within the birthday promises of the Republic, he yet allowed himself to be pressed by his adversary to an illogical limitation of this self-evident truth, so that colored persons might be excluded from political rights. But he was at all times willing to learn and not ashamed to change. Before death he had already expressed his desire that the suffrage should be extended to colored persons in certain cases; but here again he failed to apply that very principle of Equality for which he so often contended. If the suffrage be given to colored persons only in certain cases, then, of course, it can be given to whites only in the same cases; or Equality ceases to exist.

It was his own frank confession that he had not controlled events, but that they had controlled him. At all the great stages of the war, he followed rather than led. The people, under God, were masters. Let it not be forgotten that the triumphs of this war, and even Emancipation itself, sprang from the great heart of the American people. Individual services have been important; but there is no man who has been necessary.

There was one theme on which latterly he was disposed to conduct the public mind. It was the treatment of the rebel leaders. His policy was never announced, and of course it would always have been subject to modification, in the light of experience. But it is well known that, at the very moment of his assassination, he was much occupied by thoughts of lenity and pardon. He was never harsh, even in speaking of

Jefferson Davis; and, only a few days before his end, when one who was privileged to speak to him in that way, said, "Do not allow him to escape the law, — he must be hanged," the President replied calmly, in the words which he had adopted in his last Inaugural Address, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." And when pressed again by the remark that the sight of Libby Prison made it impossible to pardon him, the President repeated twice over these same words, revealing unmistakably the generous sentiments of his heart. The question of clemency here is the very theme so ably debated between Cæsar and Cato, while the Roman Senate was considering the punishment of the confederates of Catiline. Cæsar consented to confiscation and imprisonment, but pleaded for the lives of the criminals. Cato was sterner. It is probable that the President, who was a Cato in patriotism, would on this occasion have followed the counsels of Cæsar.

Good will to all men was with him a science as well as a sentiment. His nature was pacific, and, throughout the terrible conflict, his thoughts were always turned on peace. He wished peace among ourselves, and he wished peace with foreign powers. While abounding in gratitude to the officers and men, who had so grandly fought the national battle, he longed to see their swords concealed in their scabbards, never again to flash against the sky. His prudence found expression in the saying, "One war at a time;" but his whole nature seemed to say, "Peace always." And yet it was his fortune to conduct one of the greatest wars of all time. "With malice towards none;

with charity for all; with firmness for the right, as God gives us to see the right;" so he worked and lived, and these words of his own might be his honest epitaph.

His place in history may be seen at once from the transcendent events with which his name must be forever associated. The pyramids of our country are built by the people more than by any ruler; but the ruler of the people at such a moment cannot be forgotten.

It is impossible to exaggerate the Proclamation of Emancipation as an historic event. Its influence cannot be limited to the present in place or time. It will reach beyond the national jurisdiction, and beyond the present age. Besides its immediate efficacy in liberating slaves at home, it will be one of the landmarks of Human Progress. From the solidarity of Slavery, the fall of this abomination among us, must cause its fall everywhere, — so that in Cuba, Porto Rico, Brazil, or wherever else a slave may wear a chain, that Proclamation will be felt. It will also be proudly recognized in the destinies of the Republic which it advanced. Only a short time before the Czar of Russia, by Proclamation also, raised twenty millions of serfs to the dignity of freemen; but even this great act was less historic. Though of incalculable importance to the serfs, it was not the triumph of Popular Government, and it came from the East instead of the West. It is to the West that the world now looks for sunrise. *Video solem orientem in occidente.* But the Emancipation Proclamation itself was one of the agencies in the military overthrow of the Rebellion, which, if

regarded as an achievement of war, is one of the greatest in the history of war, but, if regarded in its political consequences, is one of the grandest events in all history. Here again the magnitude of the event can be fully appreciated only when it is considered, that the triumph of the Republic is the triumph of Popular Institutions everywhere. It is much that the Republic has become impregnable, whether against "malice domestic" or "foreign levy;" but it is more that it has become an example to the world. That all this should be done under a President, who represented especially the people, who spoke always in sympathy with the people in words of power that cannot be forgotten, and who sealed his devotion with his life, adds to the grandeur of the example.

Here are great heralds of fame, such as few have had as they entered the lofty portals. Our martyred dead may be seen also in the company to which he will be admitted, among the purest spirits of all time, — martyrs, patriots, philanthropists, servants of truth and duty. Milton, Hampden, Sidney, Wilberforce, — all will welcome the new-comer. Washington will lead the hosts of his own country to do him honor, from the Pilgrims of the Mayflower to the thronging crowds who have laid down their lives for the Republic.

By the association of a common death he will pass into the same historic galaxy with Cæsar, William of Orange, and Henry IV. of France, all of whom were assassinated, — and his star will not pale by the side of theirs. Cæsar was a contrast to him in everything, unless it be in clemency, and in the coincidence that each was

fifty-six years of age at the time of his death. How unlike in all else. Cæsar was of a brilliant lineage, which he traced on one side to the immortal gods, and on the other to one of the recent chiefs of Rome; of completest education; of amplest means; of rarest experience; of acknowledged genius as statesman, soldier, orator, and writer; — being in himself the most finished man of antiquity; but he was the enslaver of his country, whose personal ambition took the place of patriotism, and whose name has since become the synonyme of imperial power. William of Orange was of princely origin, and in early life was a page in the palace of Charles V. During the long contest of Holland with Spain, he became the liberator of his country, which he conducted wisely, surely, and greatly, — anticipating the example of Washington. The name of "Silent," which he bore, may suggest the reticence of his American parallel. Henry IV., memorable for practical sense, anecdote, and pregnant wit, represented the idea of National Unity in France as the Supreme condition of national safety. He died, leaving great plans unfulfilled, and his career has been illustrated by the popular epic of his country, *La Henriade*, of Voltaire. These are illustrious names; but there is nothing in them which can eclipse the simple life of our President, whose example will be an epoch in the history of Humanity, and a rebuke to every usurper, — to be commemorated forever by history and by song. The cause which he served was more than empire. The motive of his conduct was higher than success; as devotion to Human Rights is higher than genius or power; as MAN is higher than aught else.

There is another character, who, like him, was taken away at the age of fifty-six, with whom the President may be more properly compared. It is St. Louis of France; and yet here the resemblance is only in certain kindred features, and the common consecration of their lives. The French monarch, though at the head of a military power, was a lover of peace, and cultivated justice towards his neighbors. Under his influence, a barbarous institution was overthrown, and France was lifted in the career of civilization. Though in an age of privilege, and wearing a crown, he was moved to the practice of Equality. History recalls, with undisguised delight, the simple justice which he administered to his people, as he sat under an oak in the park of Vincennes. Our President struck too at a barbarism, and lifted his country. He too practised Equality. And he too had his oak of Vincennes. It was that plain room, where he was always so accessible, as to make his example difficult for future Presidents. But there were stated times when he was open to all who came with their petitions, and they flocked across the continent. The transactions of that simple court of last resort would show how much was done to temper the law, to assuage sorrow, and to care for the widow and orphan; but its only record is in heaven.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln. You have discerned his simple beginnings; — have watched his early struggles; — have gratefully followed his consecration to those truths which our fathers declared; — have hailed him as the

twice-elected head of the Republic, through whom it was known in foreign lands; — have recognized him at a period of national trial as the representative of the *unfulfilled promises* of our Fathers, even as Washington was the representative of National Independence; and you have beheld him struck down, at the moment of victory when rebel Slavery was everywhere succumbing. Reverently we acknowledge the finger of the Almighty, and pray that all our trials may not fail; but that the promises of the Fathers may be fulfilled, so that all men shall be equal before the law, and government shall stand only on the consent of the governed, — two self-evident truths which the Republic at its birth announced.

Traitorous assassination struck him down. But do not be too vindictive in heart towards the poor atom that held the weapon. Reserve your rage for the responsible Power, which not content with assailing the life of the Republic by atrocious Rebellion, has outraged all laws human and divine; has organized Barbarism as a principle of conduct; has taken the lives of faithful Unionists at home; has prepared robbery and murder on the northern borders; has fired hotels, filled with women and children; has plotted to scatter pestilence and poison; has perpetrated piracy and ship-burning at sea; has starved American citizens, held as prisoners; has inflicted the slow torture of Andersonville and Libby; has menaced assassination always; and now at last, true to itself, has assassinated our President; and this responsible Power is none other than Slavery. It is Slavery that has taken the life of our beloved Chief

Magistrate, and here is another triumph of its Barbarism. On Slavery let vengeance fall. Spare if you please the worms it employs; but do not — I entreat you — yield any amnesty to this murderous wickedness. Ravaillac, who took the life of Henry IV. of France, was torn in pieces on the public square in front of the City Hall, by four powerful horses, each of them attached to one of his limbs, and tearing in opposite directions, until at last, after a fearful struggle, nothing of the wretched assassin remained in the hands of the executioner, except his bloody shirt, — which was at once handed over to be burned. Such be our vengeance; and let Slavery be the victim.

And not only Slavery, which is another name for property in man, but so also that other pretension, which is not less irrational and hateful, that Human Rights can depend on color. This is the bloody shirt of the assassin; and it must be handed over to be burned.

Such a vengeance will be like a kiss of reconciliation; for it will remove every obstacle to peace and harmony. The people where Slavery once ruled will bless the blow which destroyed it. The people where the kindred tyranny of Caste once ruled, will rejoice that this too fell under the same blow. They will yet confess that it was dealt in no harshness to them, in no unkindness, in no desire to humiliate, but simply and solemnly, in the name of the Republic, and of Human Nature; for their good as well as ours; ay, for their good more than ours.

It is by ideas that we have conquered, more than by armies. The sword of the Archangel was less mighty

than the mission which he bore from the Lord. But if the ideas which have given us the victory are now neglected; if the promises of the Declaration, which the Rebellion openly assailed, are still left unfulfilled, then will our blood and treasure have been lavished in vain. Alas! for the dead who have given themselves so bravely to their country; alas! for the living who have been left to mourn the dead; — if any relic of Slavery is allowed to continue; especially if this bloody impostor, defeated in the pretension of property in man, is allowed to perpetuate an *Oligarchy of the skin!*

And how shall these ideas be saved? In other words, how shall the war waged by Abraham Lincoln be brought to an end, so as to secure peace, tranquillity and reconciliation? At this moment all turns on the colored suffrage in the rebel States. *This is now the pivot of national safety.* A mistake on this point is worse than the loss of a battle. And yet here again we encounter the Rebellion in all its odious pretensions, hardly less audacious than when it took up arms. As its camp-fires expire, the men who have trimmed them — taking fresh oaths of allegiance on their lips — renew their early activity in plotting how still to preserve an oligarchical power. The demon of Caste takes the place of the demon of Slavery. In setting ourselves against this fearful demon, we only follow the solemn behests of the great Declaration, of which our martyred President was the champion. And now as I close this humble tribute, let me ask you to adopt that championship which was his

first and most constant title to the national gratitude. Let each be a standard-bearer of the Declaration. I cannot err, if speaking at his funeral, I detain you to insist upon this absorbing duty in which for the moment all other duties are swallowed up.

The argument for the colored suffrage is overwhelming. It springs from the necessity of the case, as well as from the rights of man. This suffrage is needed for the security of the colored people; for the stability of the local government; and for the strength of the Union. Without it there is nothing but insecurity for the colored people, instability for the local government, and weakness for the Union, involving of course the national credit. Without it the Rebellion will break forth under a new *alias*, unarmed it may be, but with white votes to take possession of the local government and wield it at will, whether at home or in the national councils. If it be said that the colored people are unfit, then do I say that they are more fit than their recent masters, or even than many among the "poor whites." They have been loyal always, and who are you, that, under any pretence, exalts the prejudices of the disloyal above the rights of the loyal! Their suffrage is now needed; more even than you ever needed their muskets or sabres. An English statesman, after the acknowledgment of the Spanish Colonies as Independent States, boasted that he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. In similar spirit, we too must call a new ballot into existence to redress that tyranny which will not learn the duty of justice to the colored race.

The same National authority that struck down Slavery must see that this other pretension is not permitted to survive; nor can there be any doubt that the authority which struck down Slavery is competent to this kindred duty. Each is a part of that great policy of justice through which alone can peace be made permanent and immutable. Nor can the Republic shirk this remaining duty, without leaving Emancipation unfinished and the early promises of the Republic unfulfilled. Vain is the gift of Liberty, if you surrender the rights of the freedman to be judged by the recent assertors of property in man. Burke, in his day, saw the flagrant inconsistency and denounced it, saying, that, whatever such people did on this subject was "arrant trifling," and, notwithstanding its plausible form, always wanted what he aptly called "the executive principle." These words of warning have been adopted and repeated by two later statesmen, George Canning and Henry Brougham; but they are so plain as not to need the support of names. The infant must not be handed over to be suckled by the wolf, but carefully nursed by its parent; and since the Republic is the parent of Emancipation, the Republic must nurse the immortal infant into maturity and strength. It is the Republic which at the beginning took up this great work. The Republic must finish what it began; and it cannot err on this occasion, if, in anxious care, it holds nothing done so long as anything remains undone. It is the Republic, which, with matchless energy, hurled forward its armies until it conquered. The Republic must exact that "security for the future,"

without which this unparalleled war will have been waged in vain. It is the Republic, which to-day, with one consenting voice, commemorates the murdered dead. The same Republic, prompt to honor him, must require that his promises to an oppressed race be maintained in all their integrity and completeness, in letter and in spirit, so that the great cause for which he became a sacrifice, may not fail. His martyrdom was a new pledge beyond any even in life.

There can be no question here, whether a State is in the Union or out of it. This is but a phrase on which discussion is useless. Look at the *actual fact*. Here all will agree. The old governments are *vacated*, and this is enough. Until the *whole body of loyal people* have set up a government, all is under the National authority, acting by the Executive or by Congress; and, since the Constitution, even without the injunction of the Declaration of Independence, knows nothing of color, it is the obvious duty of the National authority to protect *the whole body of loyal people* against any denial of rights on this pretension. Already it has undertaken to say that certain persons shall not vote. Surely the same authority which may limit the electoral law of Slavery, may enlarge it. If the National authority can do anything about elections; if it can order an election; if it can regulate an election; if it can exclude a traitor who is still at large, it can admit a loyalist, whose only incapacity is his skin.

The colored suffrage is now a necessity. But beyond this, in making it an essential condition of the restoration

of rebel States to the Union, we follow, first, the law of reason and of nature, and secondly the Constitution, not only in its text, but as read in the light of the Declaration of Independence. By reason and nature there can be no denial of rights on account of color; and we can do nothing which is thus irrational and unnatural. By the Constitution it is stipulated that the "United States shall guarantee to every State a *republican form of government;*" but the meaning of this guaranty must be found in the birthday Declaration of the Republic, which is the controling preamble of the Constitution. Beyond all question the United States, when called to enforce this guaranty, must insist on the *Equality of all men before the law*, and the *consent of the governed*. Such is the true idea of a Republican government according to American institutions.

The slave-masters, driven from their first intrenchments, already occupy inner defences. Property in man is abandoned; but they now insist that colored persons shall not enjoy political rights. Liberty has been won. The battle for Equality is still pending. And now a new compromise is proposed, by which colored persons are to be sacrificed in the name of State Rights. It is sad that it should be so. But I do not despair. The cause may be delayed; but it cannot be lost; and all who set themselves against it will be overborne; for it is the cause of Humanity. Not the rich and proud, but the poor and lowly, will be the favorites of an enfranchised Republic. The words of the prophet will be fulfilled;

"and I will punish the people for their evil, and the wicked for their iniquity, and I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. I WILL MAKE A MAN MORE PRECIOUS THAN FINE GOLD, EVEN A MAN, THAN THE GOLDEN WEDGE OF OPHIR." I catch these sublime promises, and echo them back as the assurance of triumph. Then will the Republic be all that heart can desire or imagination can paint—"*Supremely lovely and serenely great, Majestic mother*" of a free, happy, and united people, with Slavery and all its tyranny beaten down under foot, so that no man shall call another master, and all shall be equal before the law.

Fellow-citizens, your task is before you. Mourn not the dead, but rejoice in his life and example. Rejoice as you point to this child of the people who was lifted so high, that Republican Institutions became manifest in him. Rejoice that through him Emancipation was proclaimed. Rejoice that under him "government of the people, by the people and for the people," has obtained a final verdict which can never be set aside or questioned. Above all, see to it that his constant vows are performed, and that the promises of the Fathers are maintained, so that no person in the upright form of man can be shut out from their protection. Do this, and the Unity of the Republic will be fixed on a foundation that cannot fail. The corner-stone of National Independence is already in its place, and on it is inscribed the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

There is another stone which must have its place at the corner also. This is the great Declaration itself, once a promise only, at last a reality. On this adamantine stone we will gratefully inscribe the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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